SIR JOHN MARSHALL
ALFRED FOUCHER

the monuments of Sāñchī

ABOUT THE BOOK

The Buddhist *stupas* and monuments on top of a low hill at Sanchi present a picturesque view from afar. The main *stupa* was built by Asoka Maurya who also erected a pillar here. Sanchi is also hallowed by another *stupa* which enshrined the mortal remains of Sariputta and Mogallana, two of the greatest propagators of the creed. From Asoka Maurya in the 3rd century B.C. to the 13th century A.D. successive generations of ruling dynasties have made additions and alterations to the monuments, monasteries and temples here. Sanchi thus affords immense material evidence for a comprehensive study of the origin, development, flowering and decacy of Buddhist art and architecture.

The well-preserved and perfect *stupas* and other monuments bearing several figural and decorative carvings are at once most valuable and instructive for a study of early Buddhism in this region.

Since its discovery in 1818 by General Taylor, several well-intentioned pioneers including Maisey, Cunningham and others have attempted to unravel the art treasures here. But it was Marshall in the first quarter of this century and Hamid in early thirties laid bare a larger area and exposed several complexes.

The Monuments of Sanchi the magnum opus of Marshall and Foucher is the result of painstaking exposition of the monuments, their assessment and description —a signal service rendered to Indian culture in general and Buddhist art and architecture in particular.

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THE MONUMENTS OF SĀÑCHĪ

THE MONUMENTS OF SĀÑCHĪ

BY

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PLATE 1

THE HILL OF SĀÑCHĪ AND ITS ENVIRONS

The aspect of the hill, its geological formation, ancient and modern approach roads, tanks and embankments are described on pp. 11-13. For the principal group of remains on the summit, the reader should refer to the description of Pl. 2; for Stūpa 2 and other remains on the western slope, to pp. 16 and 79-82, and to the description of Pl. 71; and for the small isolated hill of Nāgourī on the south, to p. 13.

THE HILL OF SĀNCHĪ AND ITS ENVIRONS

Yards 100 50 0 100 200 300 400 Yards

Metres 100 50 0 100 200 300 400 Metres

Contour lines = 25 feet

N

KANAKHEDĀ

Bir Wallbra

Mānkōl

To Vidisā

Madāgan Dahan

c. Ruined Temple

Mōtiyā kūā

Sati Pillars

Rest House

Canal

Purainia Talāb

Canal

SĀNCHĪ

Sānchī Rāhā

Mānchi

Gōlā dāñt

Talāb

Pār on Embankment

Jhōrā

Nāgabābā

B

NAGOI

Pār

Dang-kī-ghōrī

Chūdel-wālā-dāñt

Pl. No. 3311 E 33—500

HELIOZINCOGRAPHED AT THE SURVEY OF INDIA OFFICES, CALCUTTA

PLAN OF BUILDINGS ON THE HILL-TOP

PLATE 2

PLAN OF BUILDINGS ON THE HILL-TOP

Apart from Stūpa 2, which is situated halfway down the western slope of the hill, all the principal monuments at Sāñchī are comprised in this group on the hill-top, which, along with the encompassing wall, is summarily described on pp. 15 and 16, and in greater detail in Chapters III-IV (pp. 19-60).

Two grades of shading, it is to be observed, are employed in this plan. The darker buildings are those which were unearth Sir John Marshall between the years 1912-20; the lighter or those which had previously been exposed to view.

The dates of the various buildings and of the successive ad or changes made in them are set out in the schedule on p. 18.

PLATE 3

a. VIEW OF HILL FROM THE NORTH-WEST

See the description on p. 11. At the left of the picture, the hill slopes down to the saddle where the modern village of Sāñchī is located. In the middle can be seen, rising above the trees, the dome of the Great Stūpa. To the right, the hill shelves gently away towards Nāgourī.

In the foreground, where the picture shows high standing crops, there used to be a wide expanse of water (p. 13).

b. GENERAL VIEW OF REMAINS FROM SOUTH-EAST

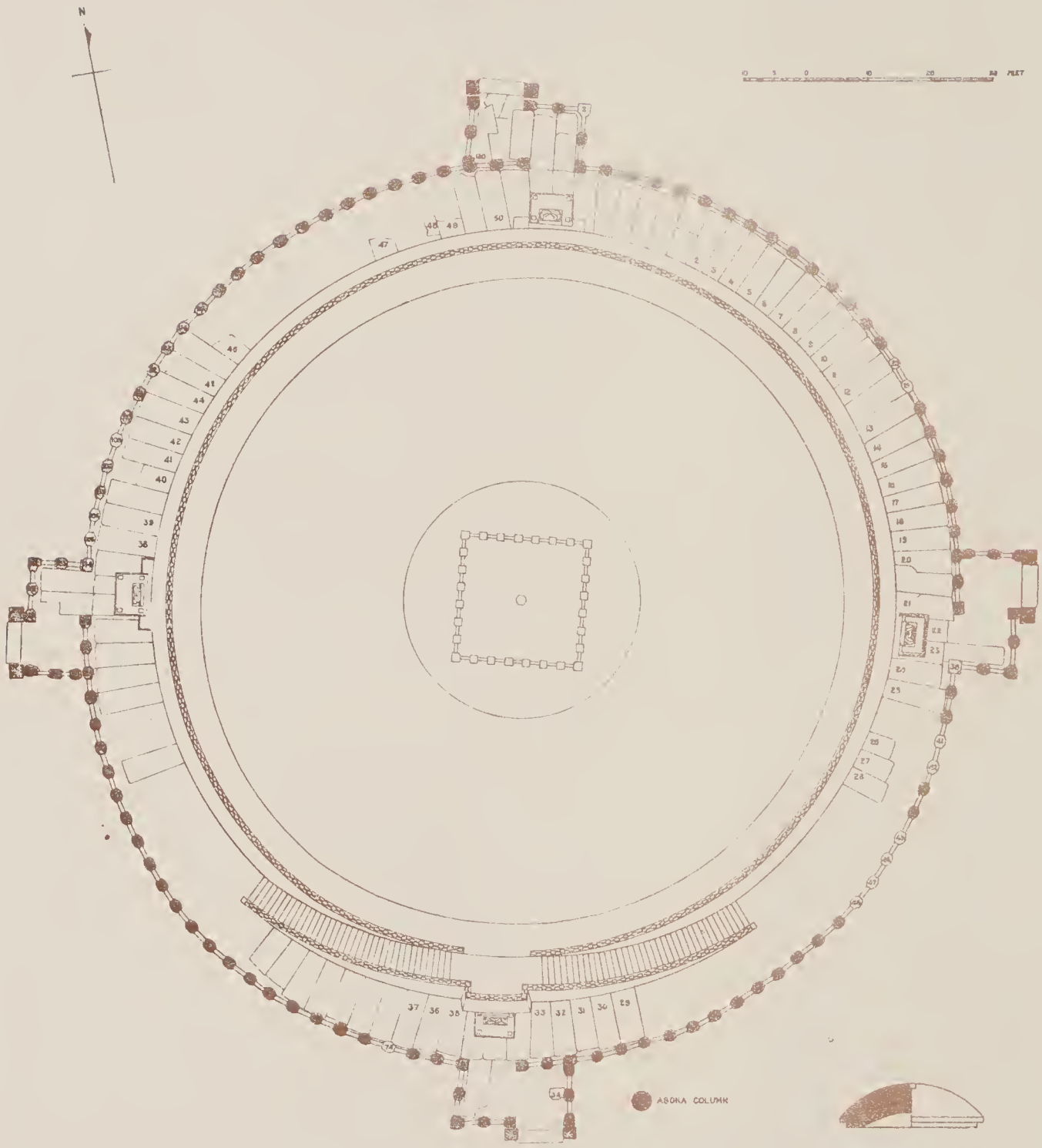
This photograph is taken from the raised plinth of Building 40, the broken pillars of which appear in the foreground (*cf.* Pls. 109 and 110 and pp. 64-68). Beyond them, in the middle of the picture, are the bases of Stūpas 6 and 13-15 (pp. 45-47), and beyond these again, the imposing mass of the Great Stūpa, with three of its gateways visible, the East, South and West (*cf.* Pls. 5 and 6 and pp. 19-40). To the left of the Great Stūpa rise the columns of the Apsidal Temple 18 (pp. 52-56); to the right, the dome of Stūpa 3 (pp. 41-44), with Stūpa 5 in front of it and Temple 31 a little to the right (*cf.* Pl. 115*a* and pp. 45 and 58-59). The wall near the *khirṇi* tree on the right of the picture is the S.-W. corner of Building 43 (p. 78).

a

(*a*) VIEW OF HILL FROM NORTH-WEST.

b

(*b*) GENERAL VIEW OF REMAINS FROM SOUTH-EAST



PLAN AND ELEVATION

PLATE 4

PLAN AND ELEVATION OF STŪPA 1

The Stūpa is here shown as enlarged and restored under the Suṅga régime (pp. 29-36), with the four gateways subsequently added under the Andhras (pp. 36-38). The pillars of the ground balustrade which are shown shaded in the plan, are original pillars still *in situ*; those without shading are modern restorations (*cf.* Pl. 6). Note that the number of steps in each flight of steps should be twenty-five, not as shown in the plan. This error on the part of the draftsman was not discovered until after the Plate had been printed.

The small three-sided plinth a little to the north of the North Gateway belonged to the Gupta Pillar 35 (pp. 50-52). For the ponderous stone lid figured on this Plate, see p. 32.

PLATE 5

VIEW OF STŪPA I, FROM THE NORTH-EAST

This photograph was taken 35 years ago, before the restoration of the berm and crowning balustrades seen in Plate 6. Fortunately, the northern half of the dome was not injured when Capt. Johnson carried out his disastrous excavation of the Stūpa in 1822 (p. 7); it still retains much of its original concrete facing, though no traces are left of any swags or other surface ornaments with which it may once have been embellished (p. 30).

The gateway in the foreground, to the spectator's right, is the Northern—standing as it has stood for two thousand years,—and beyond it, still further to the right, the Western. The low stone foundation on which two Indians are seated, is the plinth of the Gupta Pillar 35 (pp. 50-52). To the left of the picture, the Eastern Gateway is seen in profile only, and a little to the right of it (just visible above the stūpa balustrade) is the roof of the Gupta Temple 17 (pp. 56-58). Beyond is the low jungle in which the ruins of Temple 18 were then enveloped.

VIEW FROM NORTH-EAST

VIEW FROM SOUTH

PLATE 6

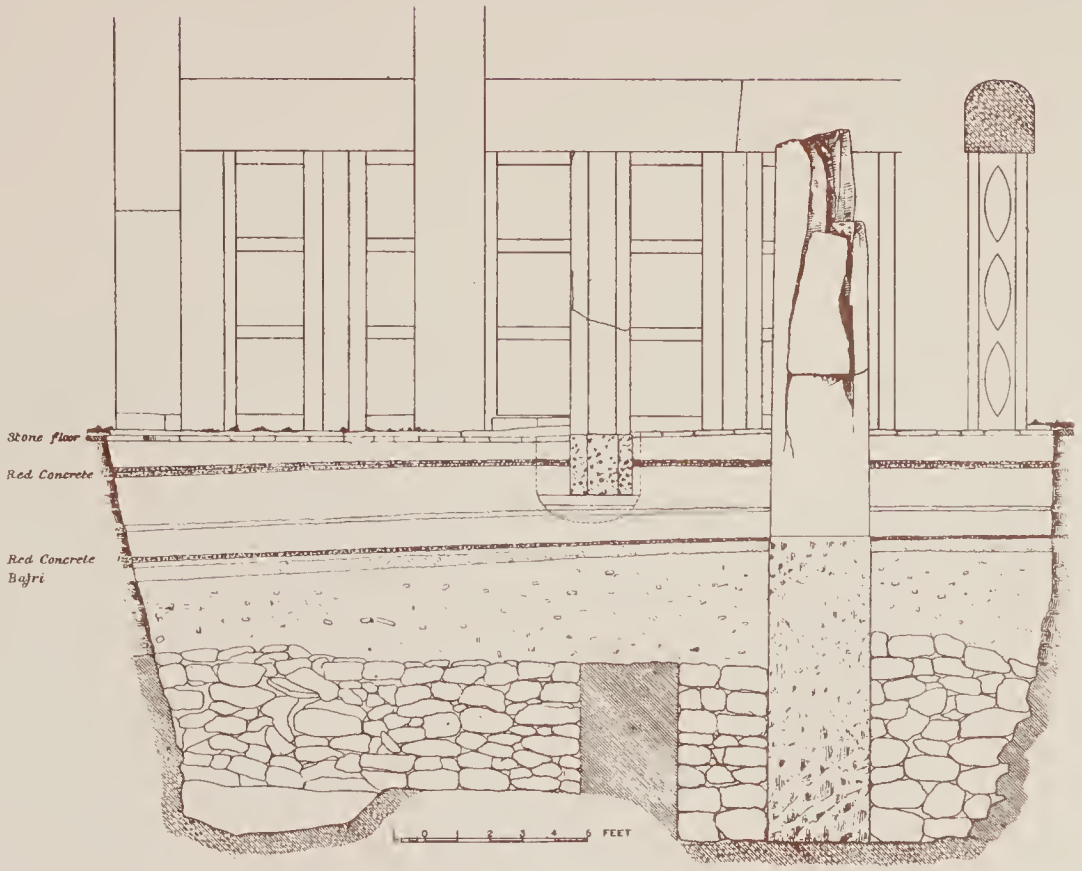
VIEW OF STŪPA 1, FROM THE SOUTH

This picture, taken in 1920, shows the Great Stūpa soon after its southern half had been reconstructed and its balustrades restored (pp. 39-40). The gateway nearest to the spectator is the Southern, which, along with the Western, was re-erected by Major Cole between the years 1881 and 1883 (p. 8). A little to the right of the Southern Gateway appears the stump of the Aśoka pillar set up about 254 B.C.; and lying by its side, the broken sections of its shaft (pp. 25-29). The structure in the foreground to the right is the corner of Temple 18; to the left, the remains of Shrine 9 (pp. 52-56 and 58).

PLATE 7

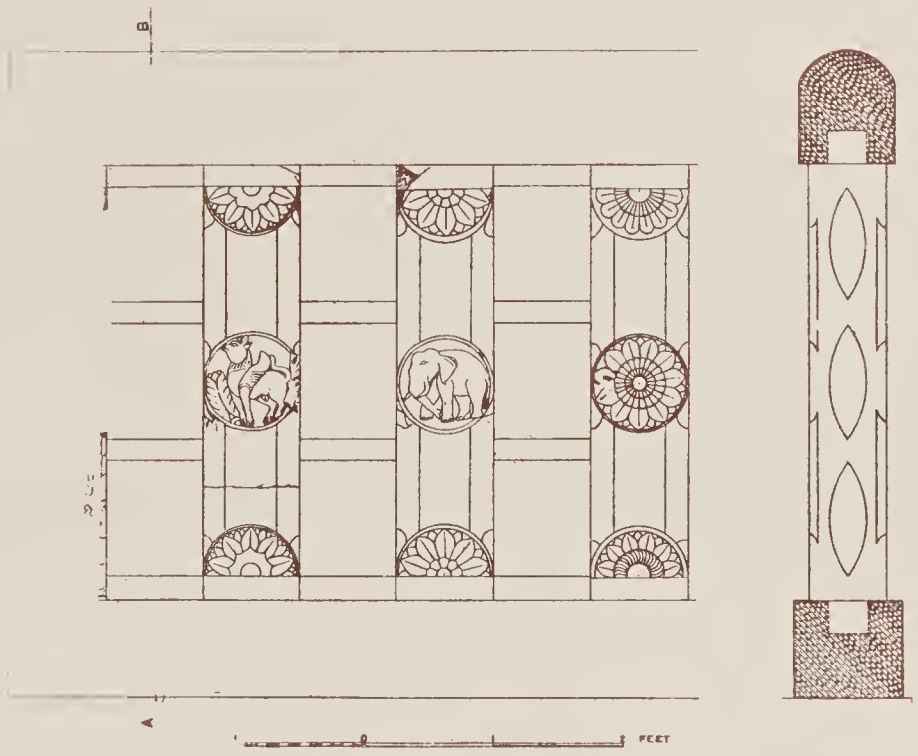
a. The ground balustrade of Stūpa I and the Aśoka column. This sectional drawing shows the foundations of the Aśoka column, the original pavement laid when the column was erected (*c*. 254 B.C.), and the several pavements which succeeded it, as the ground rose higher and higher, up to the time when the ground balustrade was constructed (*c*. 145 B.C.). Observe that the Aśoka column rested directly on the bed rock and was maintained in position by a packing of boulders enclosed in retaining walls (pp. 26-27). The words 'red concrete' which appear twice in the drawing are not quite correct. The earliest floor is of broken brick (*bajrī*); the next, immediately above it, of broken brick in clay; the third of pounded brick in lime; the fourth of *bajrī* overlaid with lime plaster; the fifth of stone.

b-e. The remaining figures on this plate show the stairway, berm and harmikā balustrades of Stūpa I, as well as another section of the ground balustrade, which is of slightly different dimensions from that shown in Fig. *a*. All these balustrades are described on pp. 30-36. Observe that, in each of them the upright posts (*stambha*) were monoliths. When the ground balustrade was restored, such new posts as were required, were made in two or three pieces, and are therefore readily distinguishable from the original posts (*cf*. Pls. 4 and 6). Observe, also, that the ground and harmikā balustrades of this stūpa are severely plain, whereas the stairway and berm balustrades are adorned with carvings on their outer face.

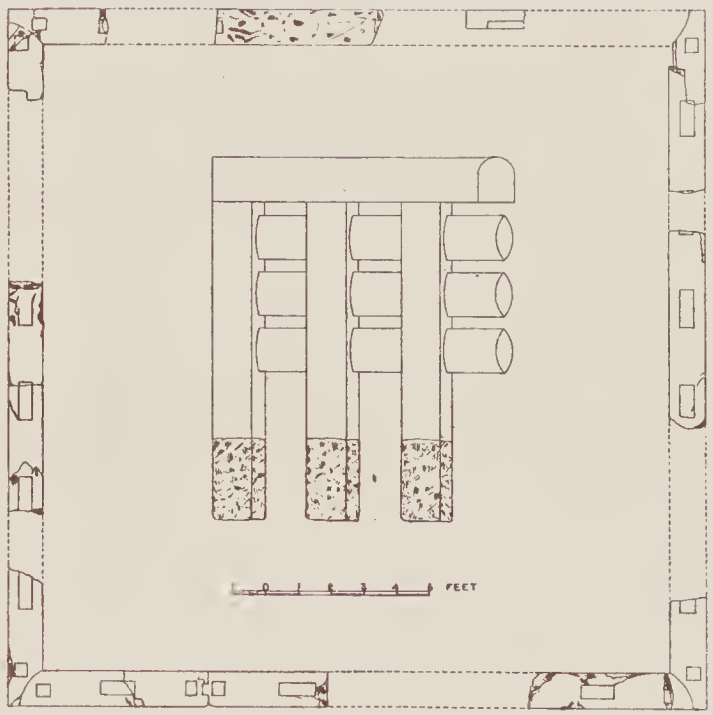


(a) GROUND BALUSTRADE AND ASOKA COLUMN

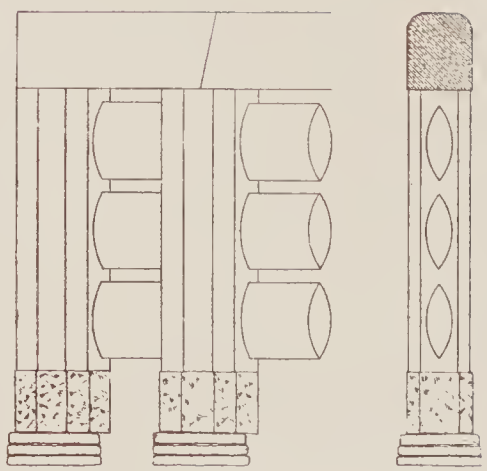
(b) STAIRWAY BALUSTRADE.



(c) BERM BALUSTRADE.

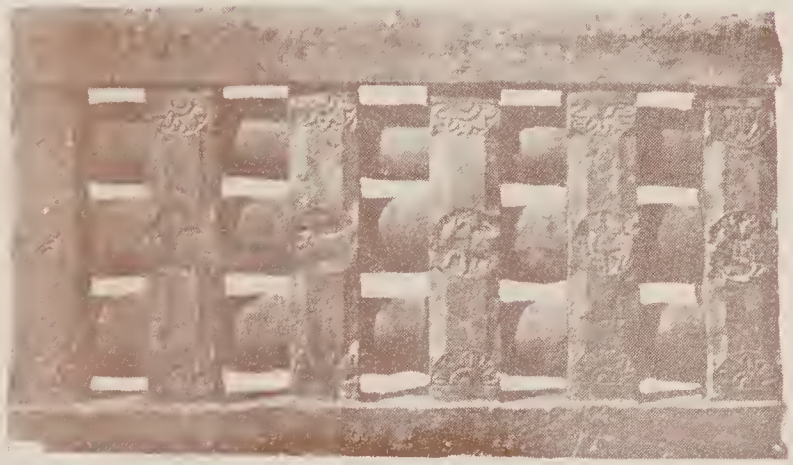


(d) HARMIKA BALUSTRADE



(e) GROUND BALUSTRADE

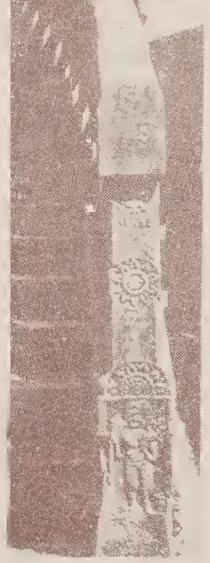
PL VII



a

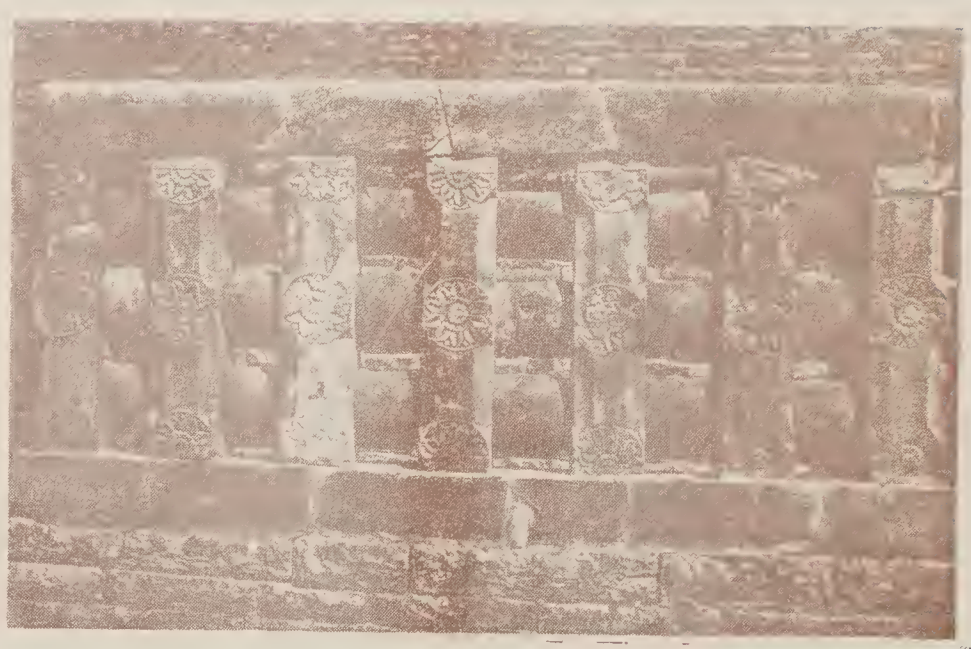
b

c



d

e



DETAILS OF BERM AND STAIRWAY BALUSTRADES

PL VIII

PLATE 8

STŪPA 1.—DETAILS OF BERM AND STAIRWAY BALUSTRADES

The decoration is on the outer face of these balustrades, doubtless in order to brighten up the bareness of the dome. It was not meant for the eyes of the worshippers who made their *pradakshiṇa* on the terrace, but for those who made it on the ground between the big bare balustrade of the stūpa at their left and the decorated balustrade of the terrace at their right (*cf.* Pl. 6). As on the balustrade of Stūpa 2, only the vertical uprights (*stambha*) are decorated, not the horizontal bars (*sūci*), and most of the medallions or half-medallions are patterned with lotuses, variously treated, but most frequently opened rose-fashion. Themes other than the lotus are mainly reserved for the middle row of medallions (but see exceptions under c and *f*).

a. Observe the lotus creeper, in a still fairly simple form, up the whole length of the left pillar; then, from left to right on the central medallions, a buffalo whose head is curiously shown from above, an antelope, a bull, a griffin, and two antelopes *affrontés*.

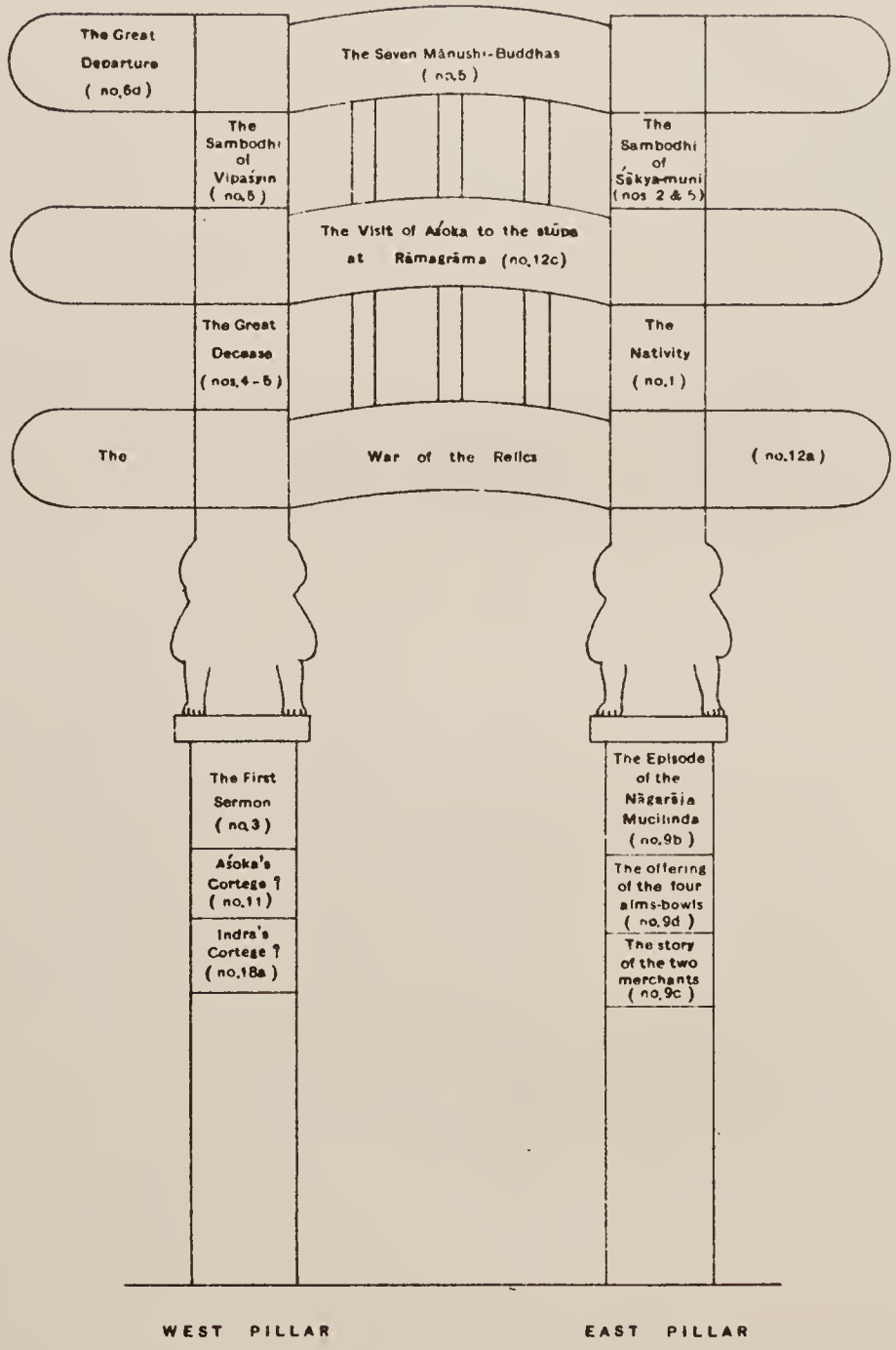
b. In the same order on the middle come an elephant, a buffalo, two more elephants, a bull, a *makara*, a horse, a fourth elephant, a stylised lotus, a fifth elephant and a winged lion: all the 'four animals' are here, but not alone. Above, the second pillar bears two birds *affrontés* holding a garland in their beaks; and the eighth, a vase with lotuses (*cf.* above, p. 184 and note 1).

c. Below will be noticed a single specimen of a bear and a gazelle scratching its muzzle with its hind-foot, both very well sketched; on the middle, an elephant and (at last) two tiny human figures (genie and fairy?).

d and *e*. At the foot of the first pillar of the flight, a male personage standing and holding some flowers looks like a first sketch of the Yakshas of the Gateways (*cf.* Pls. 36, 50, 52, etc.). In *e*, underneath a scroll of lotus creeper, the Yaksha is accompanied by his Yakshī (*cf.* pp. 175 and 244).

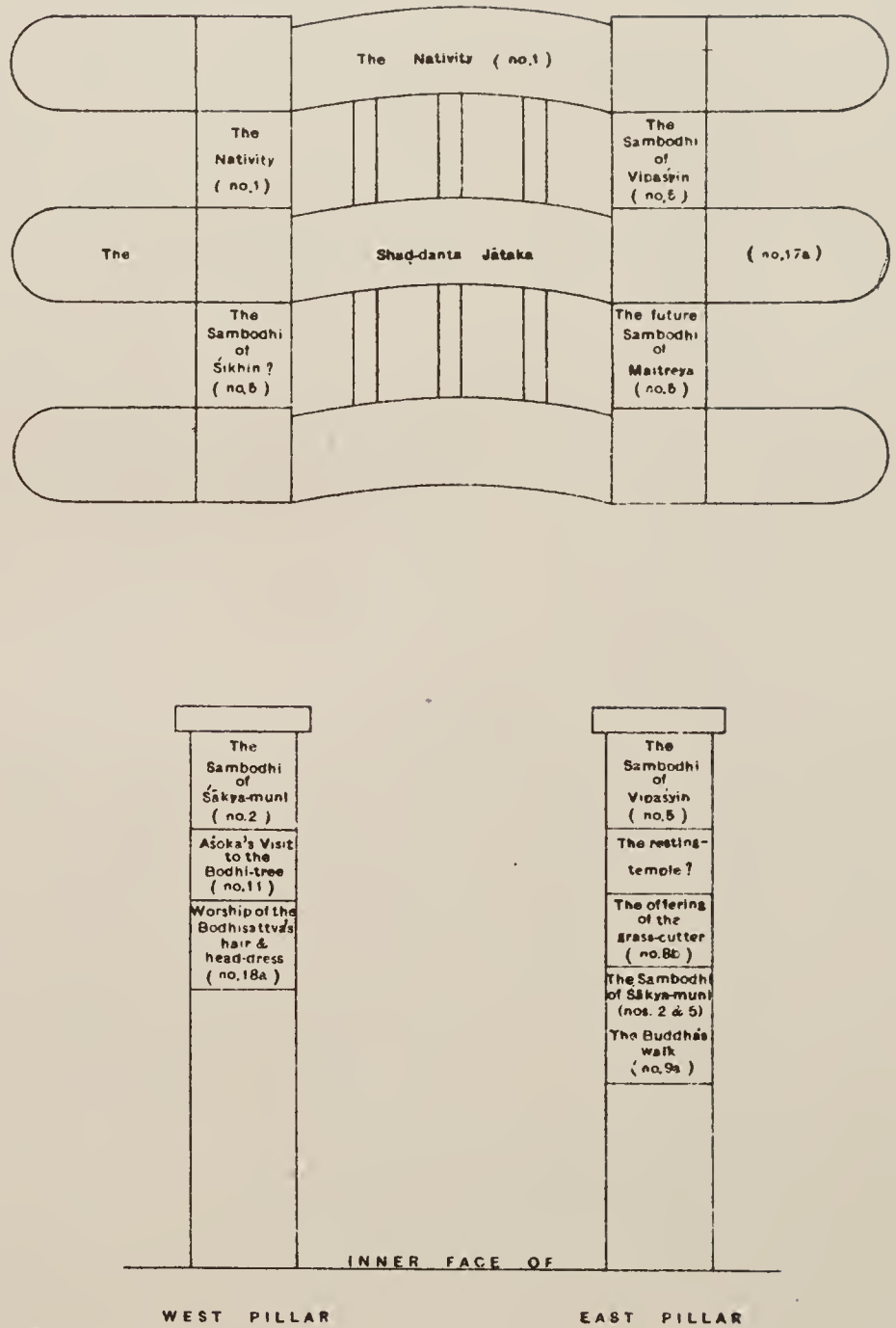
f. On the first pillar is a griffin and an elephant; on the fifth, a griffin and a centaur ridden by a woman (*cf.* p. 174); and on the sixth, two elephants.

FRONT


The Great Departure (no.6d)
The Seven Mānushi-Buddhas (no.5)
The Sambodhi of Vipaśyin (no.6)
The Sambodhi of Śākya-muni (nos 2 & 5)
The Visit of Aśoka to the stūpa at Rāmagrāma (no.12c)
The Great Decease (nos.4 - 5)
The Nativity (no.1)
The
War of the Relics
(no.12a)
The First Sermon (no.3)
Aśoka's Cortege ? (no.11)
Indra's Cortege ? (no.18a)
The Episode of the Nāgarāja Mucilinda (no.9b)
The offering of the four alms-bowls (no.9d)
The story of the two merchants (no.9c)

WEST PILLAR EAST PILLAR

BACK


The Nativity (no.1)
The Nativity (no.1)
The Sambodhi of Vipaśyin (no.6)
The
Shaḍ-danta Jātaka
(no.17a)
The Sambodhi of Śikhin ? (no.6)
The future Sambodhi of Maitreya (no.6)
The Sambodhi of Śākya-muni (nos. 2 & 5)
Aśoka's Visit to the Bodhi-tree (no.11)
Worship of the Bodhisattva's hair & head-dress (no.18a)
The Sambodhi of Vipaśyin (no.6)
The resting-temple ?
The offering of the grass-cutter (no.8b)
The Buddha's walk (no.9a)

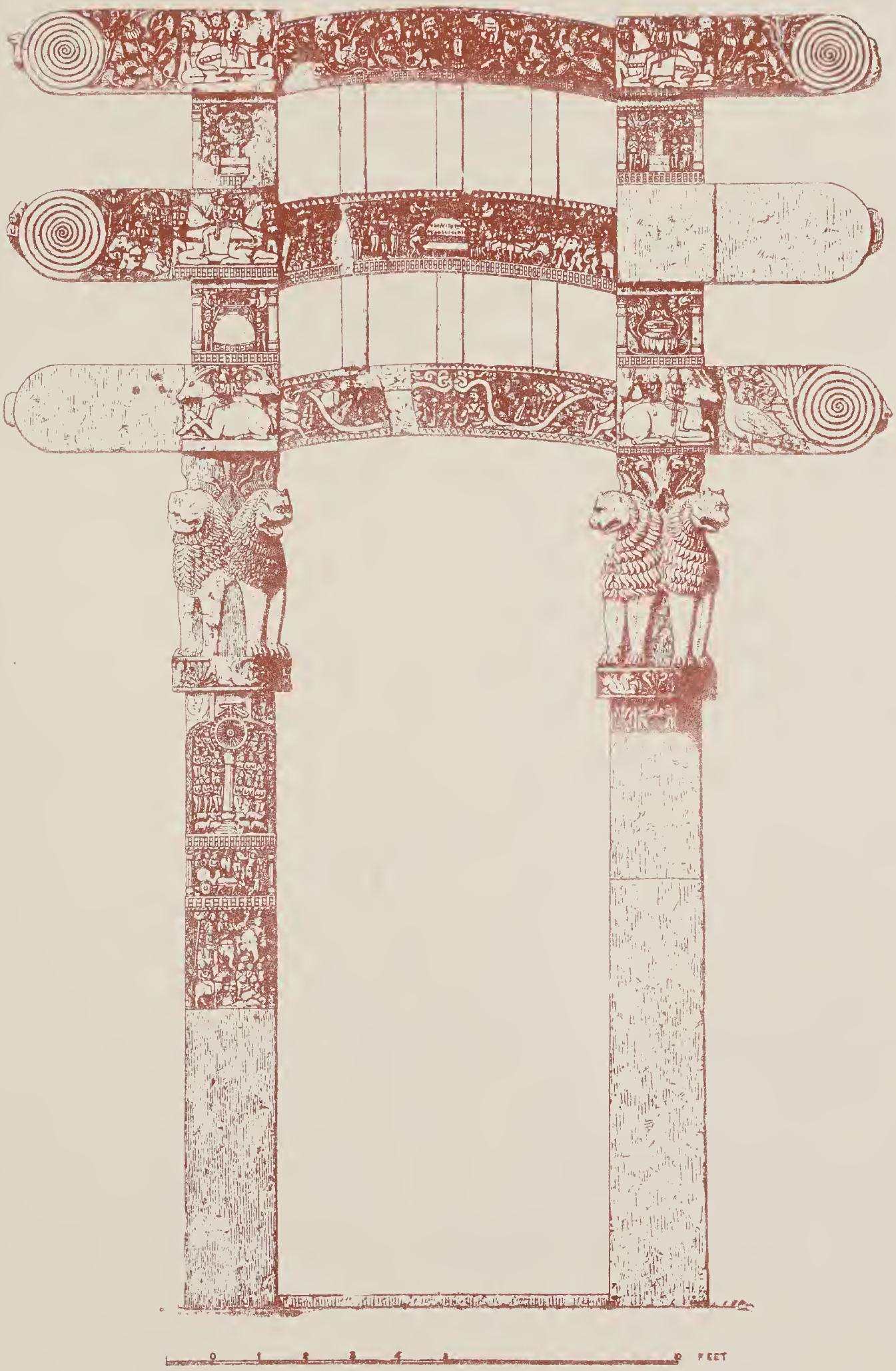
INNER FACE OF

WEST PILLAR EAST PILLAR

SOUTHERN GATEWAY (Restored) : INDEX-MAP OF THE LEGENDARY SCENES

Rec. No. 3936 E'36 - 595.

Helio. S. I. O. Calcutta.



FRONT ELEVATION OF SOUTHERN GATEWAY

FRONT FACE OF SOUTHERN GATEWAY

PLATE 10

FRONT OF SOUTHERN GATEWAY

The important thing to notice from the point of view of iconography, besides the serious and much to be regretted gaps in the decoration, is the fact that the top and bottom lintels were reversed when the gateway was set up again in the last century. There can be no doubt that originally the facade presented, minutely executed by a master-hand, three compositions of supreme interest to the eyes of pilgrims, namely :—

(*a*) on the top lintel, the icons of the seven Mānushi-Buddhas ;

(*b*) on the middle lintel, Aśoka's Visit to the Rāmagrāma stūpa ;

(*c*) on the bottom lintel, the War of the Relics.

The back had merely three decoratively treated themes, namely :—

(*a*) on the top lintel, a Nativity centring a tangle of lotuses[1] ;

(*b*) on the middle lintel, a spinning out of the Shaḍdanta-Jātaka ;

(*c*) on the bottom lintel, pot-bellied dwarfs (*kumbhāṇḍas*) spouting forth the Lotus Tree of Life and Fortune[2].

The modern restoration visible in Pl. 10, upsetting this perfectly well thought out plan, has banished from the front facade the seven Mānushi-Buddhas which the Sāñchī sculptors, as may be seen on the other gateways, had made an absolute rule of portraying on the fronts of all their *toraṇas*, and the magnificent "historical piece" illustrating the siege of Kuśinagara. Only the one bearing the "Visit of Aśoka" has been retained in its original place, and contrasts oddly with the two almost purely ornamental motives between which it is now found inserted. With these reservations, our description will conform to the present arrangement, as shown on the plates.

In addition to one false-capital, two projecting ends of lintels, the uprights and all the separate figures, the restored gateway has lost also half of the west pillar (see Pl. 18) and the whole of the east pillar. The fairly substantial remains of the latter are, however, preserved in the local museum at Sāñchī and are shown on Pl. 19, whilst the two faces of the eastern projecting end of the middle lintel have been put back into place on Pls. 13 and 16.

As regards the capitals, *cf.* Pl. 14.

For the reader's convenience, while looking at Pl. 10, we may again point out :—

(*a*) on the four dies :—a Nativity (Great Miracle no. 1) ; two Illuminations (G. M. no. 2), one of Vipaśyin and the other of Śākya-muni (that is, of the first and last Buddhas of the series of seven), and lastly a *Parinirvāṇa* (G. M. no. 4)

(*b*) on the western end of the middle lintel, a tableau of paradise, earthly or heavenly (*cf.* pp. 228-229) ;

(*c*) on the western pillar, a First Sermon (G. M. no. 3) and two 'Visits', one royal and in a chariot, the other divine and on an elephant.

[1] *Cf.* pp. 128 and 146.

[2] *Cf.* p. 146.

PLATE II

FRONT OF SOUTHERN GATEWAY: MIDDLE SECTION

1. (*Back of*) *Top Lintel.*—As a matter of fact, it is the back and not the front which we see here. In the centre, Māyā, left hand on hip and a lotus in her right hand, standing on a lotus between the two Nāgas, likewise supported by open lotus flowers, gives us an already advanced form of the Nativity (*cf.* p. 197). The whole surface of the lintel is covered from end to end (*cf.* Pls. 12, 1 and 13, 1) with stalks, leaves, buds and flowers of the lotus, among which a couple of Indian geese (*haṁsa*) are set on each side.

2. *Middle Lintel.*—For the general meaning of this scene (which has fortunately been set up again in its original position) see above, p. 215 *sqq.* We must note further here:—(*a*) In the centre, the style of the stūpa obviously analogous to that of Stūpa 1 at Sāñchī (*cf.* Pl. 6). (*b*) On the right, the characteristic details of the royal insignia (turban, ewer, fly-whisk; the umbrella is missing), and the royal chariot and procession. Besides the band, the suite includes all four 'arms', infantry, cavalry, elephants and chariots (*cf.* Pl. 40, 3 and, for the chariot, Pl. 23*a*; but there is here no woman in the retinue). (c) On the left, the four Nāgas (*cf.* p. 244) and their families coming to bring the ritual offerings in their hands, in ewers or on plates. The male genii display five-headed hoods, whilst their wives have to be content with a single hood; it is the same with the servant (?) stooping in the foreground at the left of the stūpa; but behind him a young boy—doubtless the heir presumptive of the Nāga-rāja whom he precedes—has already a triple hood. Two of the Nāgas and their Nāgīs are still immersed up to the waist in the lotus-pond which is their home, whilst two others with their female attendants are already seen full-length on the bank. Of the latter, the one nearest the stūpa is the king of the tribe (note his special turban) and the other, standing on a slightly lower level, his viceroy or *upa-rāja* (*cf.* Pl. 49*a*). This may help us indirectly to make out the identity of the great personage who follows Aśoka at the other end of the lintel, and whose stature and elephant, and the two standards which flank him, put him almost on an equal footing with the emperor. This must also be his *upa-rāja* and consequently the second personage in the empire. At the back of the tableau, the row of trees (among which bignonias, mango-trees, champakas and a fan-shaped palm-tree are recognizable) recalls the fact that, according to the legend, the territory of Rāmagrāma had been reclaimed by the forest.

3. (*Back of*) *Bottom Lintel.*—One cannot fail to recall the decoration of the coping stone of the Bharhut Stūpa (*cf.* Cunn., Pl. 39 *sqq.*). At each end of the lintel a pot-bellied dwarf with a big head and short legs, probably a *kumbhāṇḍa* (*cf.* p. 243), is spouting forth a lotus stalk which makes a bending sweep and ends in serpentine coils in the centre. Leaves, buds and flowers of lotus sprout likewise out of the navels of both (*cf.* Pls. 19*b*, 78, nos. 22*a* and 23*a*) and from the mouths of the four other genii, shown from the waist, who are lodged symmetrically in the curves of the stalk. It will be noticed that all six have crinkled hair, with or without a fillet, and carry heavy pearl-necklaces in their hands by way of garlands. At the right, another necklace, made of imbricated scales and presumably of gold or silver, sprouts out of a lotus flower. Observe likewise that one of the genii in the middle (the one on the right) is wearing on his body, instead of the ordinary necklace, two crossed châins connecting six medallions (four of which are visible here); this kind of ornament will be found again elsewhere (*cf.* Pl. 27, 4, etc.)[1].

[1] For further remarks on the significance of this relief, see Part II *supra*, pp. 144-146.

FRONT OF SOUTHERN GATEWAY: MIDDLE SECTION OF ARCHITRAVES

FRONT OF SOUTHERN GATEWAY. WEST END OF UPPER AND MIDDLE ARCHITRAVES

PLATE 12

FRONT OF SOUTHERN GATEWAY: WEST END

1. (*Back of*) *Top Lintel.*—The floral decoration of the middle part reappears, more luxuriant than ever, on the projecting end of the lintel: two *haṁsa* heads are peeping through the lotuses.

2. *Middle Lintel.*—A 'genre' piece without connection with the middle scene. A royal or divine personage, astride on the neck of an elephant, the hook of the aṅkuśa (the handle of which he holds in both hands) resting on the animal's forehead, is riding through a lotus-pond. Behind him his queen brandishes the fly-whisk with her right hand and seems to be holding out her left to another woman to help her to climb up the back of the animal, which is busy tearing up the lotuses with his trunk. In the right-hand corner, a single mango-tree represents all the trees in the 'pleasure park'. In the background, on the terrace-balcony of a palace, two more ladies of the court are watching these 'gambols in the water' (*jala-krīḍā*). We have already hinted (pp. 228-229) at the practical impossibility of guessing whether the scene is conceived as taking place on earth or in heaven.

3. (*Back of*) *Bottom Lintel.*—The decoration is lost. Most likely it represented a peacock (*cf.* Pl. 13). It will be noticed that the ends of the three lintels have protuberances on them; they are the remains of flying figures (*cf.* Pl. 17).

4. *Top Die.*—The usual picture of the second Great Miracle. As proved by a Bharhut inscription and analogy with the back of the Eastern Gateway (Pls. 45 and 47, 1), it represents the *Sambodhi* of Vipaśyin, symbolised by the bignonia.

5. *Bottom Die.*—The stūpa of the *Parinirvāṇa* shown here has the peculiarity that its *harmikā*, adorned as usual with merlons, is surmounted by umbrellas at all four corners, and by a fifth of larger size in the centre.

6. *False-capitals.*—The top and middle false-capitals are decorated with two horses couchant, back to back. Notice in the trappings the richly-plumed headstalls and the girths trimmed with discs. The horse facing left is, in both cases, ridden by a king (note the turban), accompanied on the right-hand horse by his viceroy above, and by his queen below. On the bottom false-capital, the stags substituted for the horses are more simply bridled, but still ridden by the king (in the foreground) and his *upa-rāja*.

PLATE 13

FRONT OF SOUTHERN GATEWAY: EAST END

1. (*Back of*) *Top Lintel.*—As on the west end (Pl. 12), the lotus decoration is continued as far as the volute, and a palmette fills up the space between them.

2. *Middle Lintel.*—The projecting end is one of the detached pieces preserved in the local museum and has been artificially put in place on the plate. As on its companion (*cf.* Pl. 12), there is an elephant grazing in a lotus pond; but the figures here seated on the rocks on the bank are doubtless a couple of genii (*cf.* p. 229). The Yaksha is broken and only his bent left leg is to be seen; the Yakshī has her arms and legs crossed, and between the pair lies their harp. At the left of the fairy, a cylindrical box, resembling a casket of relics (*cf.* Pl. 15, 3), is hung on a peg (*nāga-danta*) and doubtless contains some toilette preparation; below, in a jar, water is cooling.

3. (*Back of*) *Bottom Lintel.*—On a rocky landscape are seen in profile a peacock in the foreground, and in the background a tree apparently burnt by a forest fire and having only the skeleton of its branches left. A water-fall is bursting out of some rocks at the back.

4. *Top Die.*—Stereotype of the *Sambodhi* of the Buddha Śākya-muni, to judge by the tree: for this is the way in which the workshop chose to represent the *aśvattha* or *ficus religiosa*. In the attitude of the two female figures there may be a suggestion of Sujātā's Offering (see p. 206).

5. *Bottom Die.*—Picture, still archaic, of the Nativity (*cf.* pp. 183 and 197): in fact, Māyā is simply seated Indian-fashion on the pericarp of the central lotus and the Nāga-elephants are not yet shown.

6. *False-capitals.*—The middle one is lost. Like the one which surmounts it and the one which forms its companion (*cf.* Pl. 12) it should consist of two horses couchant back to back, ridden by princely personages. The stag in the background on the lower capital has a queen in the saddle. In comparing Pls. 12 and 13 it will be noticed that the orientation of the animals in the fore- and back-ground is symmetrically reversed from jamb to jamb.

As regards the protuberance on the end of the lintels, see Pl. 17.

FRONT OF SOUTHERN GATEWAY: EAST END OF ARCHITRAVES

a FRONT OF SOUTHERN GATEWAY: CAPITAL OF WEST PILLAR

b THE SAME: CAPITAL OF EAST PILLAR

PLATE 14

For the Lion Capitals of the Southern Gateway, see Part II, pp. 138-9.

PLATE 15

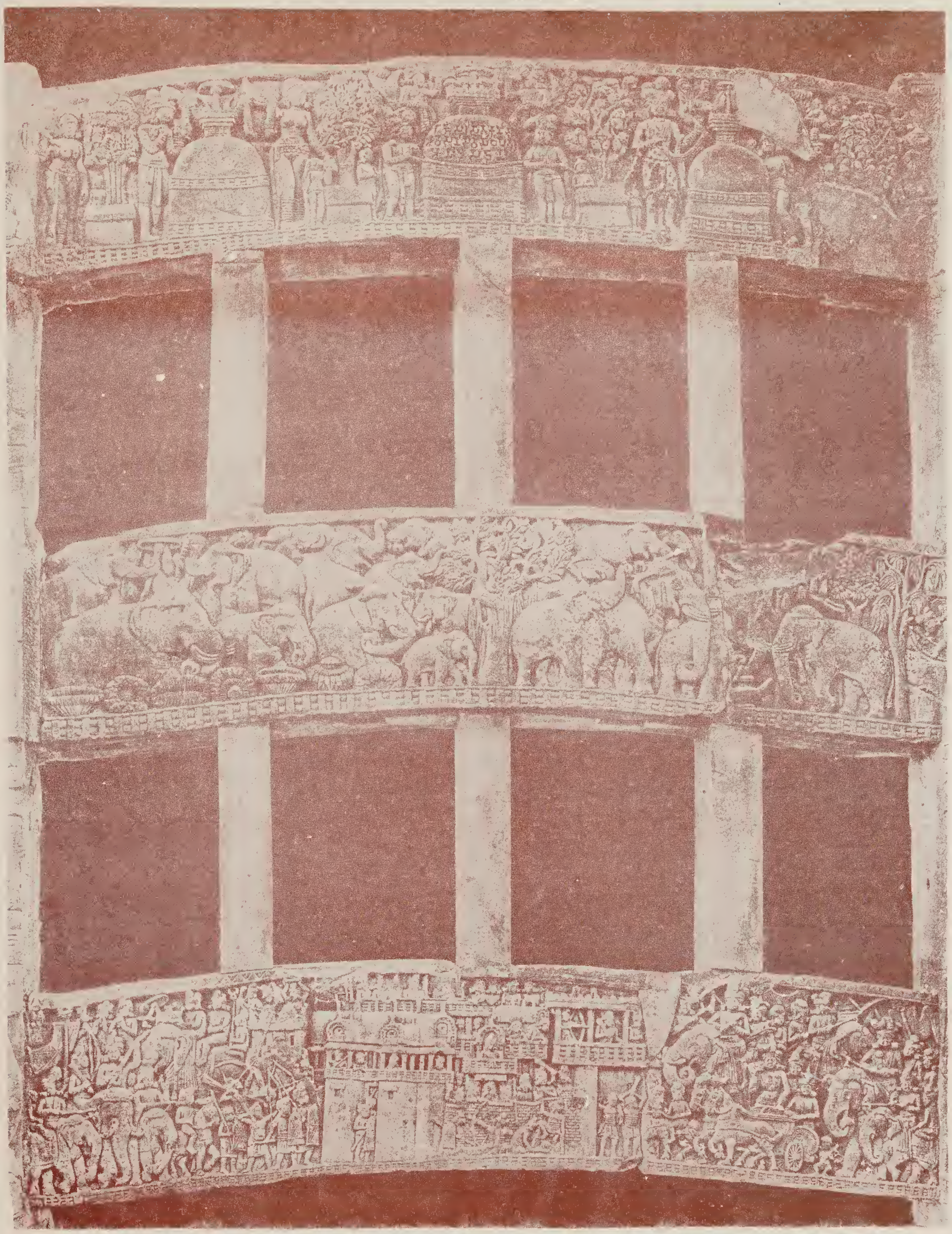
BACK OF SOUTHERN GATEWAY: MIDDLE SECTION OF ARCHITRAVES

1. (*Front of*) *Top Lintel.*—There is no possible doubt that we have to do here with the symbolic representation of the seven Mānushi-Buddhas, or that this representation originally enjoyed the honour of the front view. The only question is how to share out among these Buddhas the four *Sambodhi* trees and the three *Parinirvāṇa* tumuli which symbolize them. A comparison with the Eastern Gateway at Sāñchī and the inscribed reliefs at Bharhut gives us some idea as to the trees: the sculptor has undertaken to show the *bodhi-druma* of the four last Buddhas of the series, namely, from left to right, the *sirīsha* (*acacia sirissa*) of Krakucchanda, the *udumbara* (*ficus glomerata*) of Kanakamuni, the *nyagrodha* (*ficus indica*) of Kāśyapa (it will be noticed that here the pendent roots of the 'banyan fig-tree' are well marked, as also on the middle lintel), and lastly the *ficus religiosa* of Śākya-muni, the leaves of which are very carefully drawn. We are in possession of no facts which would justify any hypothesis as to the distribution of the three *stūpas* among the other three Mānushi-Buddhas.

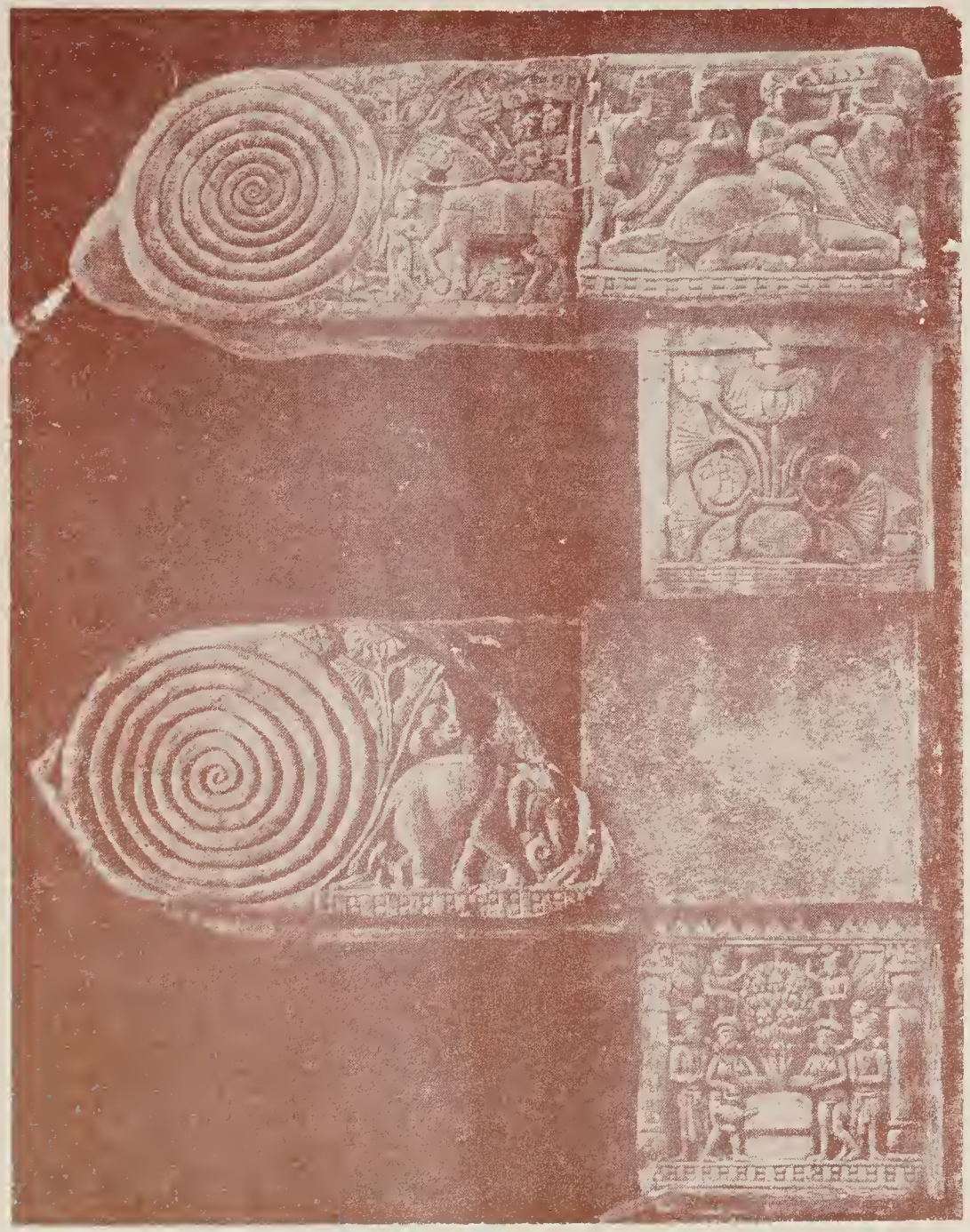
2. *Middle Lintel.*—On the essentially decorative character of this composition, see Sir John Marshall's remarks above (Part II, p. 120; and *Guide to Sāñchī*, p. 74 *sqq.*), and for the identification of the legend, above p. 224. From the point of view of iconography, the most interesting facts to notice are that the elephant 'Shaḍdanta' is correctly shown with triple tusks and that he recurs no less than four times in the composition. From left to right: (1) he is in his bath, in company with his umbrella- and flywhisk-bearers; (2) he is coming out of his bath and proceeding towards the central *nyagrodha*; (3) he afterwards advances in great pomp, again towards the right, and this time he is preceded by his ewer-bearer; (4) lastly, looking left, but still in profile, he rests aloof in the forest. This is the moment chosen by the hunter, hidden among the rocks, to let fly a deadly arrow from behind: but it is clear that the man is there merely as a reminder, since from that ambush he could never really manage to shoot the elephant (on the Gandhāra frieze, on the contrary, as on the Amarāvatī medallion, the hunter is hiding in a ditch from which he can effectively wound the elephant in the belly). It is likewise surprising that such a careful sculptor should have given his trapper (*vanecara*) the turban of a townsman, though he might claim in his defence that the hunter is a royal emissary and has arrived direct from Benares.

3. (*Front of*) *Bottom Lintel.*—On the subject of this lintel, see also Sir John Marshall's remarks (Part II, p. 118; and *Guide to Sāñchī*, pp. 75-76) and for identification, above, p. 214. Among the most curious things to be learnt from this picture of a besieged town, we may point out: (1) as regards the town itself, the line of lotuses in the middle of the foreground, marking the ditch in which some of the fighters are standing; the walls made of big bricks or stones, the indication of which is perhaps meant to show by contrast that the two gates and the tower at the left, with their smooth surface, were coated with stucco; the battlements and merlons, the loopholes with or without a dripstone, the loggias with balconies, etc.; (2) as regards the armies, the depiction of the four kinds of troops, on foot, on horseback, on elephants and in chariots; the sort of kamarband (made of a rope wound round the body?) worn by some of the soldiers[1]; the method of defence which consists not only in shooting arrows, but in throwing down stones from the ramparts onto the assailants; the different kinds of weapons: bows, pikes, swords and perhaps clubs (it is difficult to distinguish these two latter from one another on account of the breadth of the swords); the patterns of shields and standards; the trappings on elephants and horses, etc. Finally, we have to point out the shape of the relic-caskets, very like the steatite lathe-turned caskets from the stūpas of Sāñchī itself (see Part I, pp. 44 and 81, *supra*).

[1] This rope-like *kamarband* of the soldiers is still common among Indian chaprasis. In Pl. 64 *a* 1, the soldiers' *kamarband* consists of two broad bands only. *Cf.*, also, Pl. 25, 1.



BACK OF SOUTHERN GATEWAY . MIDDLE SECTION OF ARCHITRAVES



BACK OF SOUTHERN GATEWAY

PLATE 16

BACK OF SOUTHERN GATEWAY: EAST END

1. (*Front of*) *Top Lintel.*—The projecting end of the lintel (on what was formerly the front face) is devoted to a distinct subject, the *Mahābhinishkramaṇa* (*cf.* p. 203 *sqq.*). The Kapilavastu gate is here shown as a simple *toraṇa* with two lintels, arched and curled to the form of volutes at both ends. Observe that the two praying figures in the background (probably *devas*) have their hands joined and are *not* carrying the two royal attributes, which float in the air by magic above the horse—both the umbrella (garlanded) and the fly-whisk—whilst the ewer is in the right hand of Chandaka, the groom. The saddle-cloth of Kaṇṭhaka has apparently no girth here.

2. *Middle Lintel.*—Though fractured and mutilated, the decoration has been put back in its place on the photograph. The elephant walking to the right and the baby-elephant following her, evidently represent part of the '84,000' head of cattle over which the Shaḍdanta reigns (*cf.* Pl. 15, 2).

3. (*Front of*) *Bottom Lintel.*—As above, the middle theme is continued on the projecting end of the lintel, and shows us two of the seven claimants at Kuśinagara (*cf.* p. 214), one riding an elephant and the other in a chariot, with their attendants. It will be noticed that a bearer of bow and arrows (his headdress is most curious: the ends of his turban seemingly surround his face and are drawn like a scarf round his neck) is perched on the elephant between the king and the standard-bearer. Though the umbrella (which here seems to be meant less for the king than for the casket of relics) presumably has a bearer, he is quite invisible. To the right, a plantain is indicated; to the left, down below, a dwarf carrying a pitcher of water in his right hand and with his left leading on the leash a dog with tail erect, marches at the head of the army.

4. *Top Die.*—Archaic representation of the Nativity by the vase of lotuses (*cf.* pp. 183 and 197).

5. *Bottom Die.*—By every analogy we must here have to do with a symbolical representation of one of the seven Mānushi-Buddhas, and the mango-tree could be attributed to Śikhin, if the particular tree dedicated to him (*puṇḍarīka*) has been rightly identified as a kind of mango-tree. We do not, however, know for certain the exact species of this *bodhi-druma* of Śikhin, and the Northern and Eastern Gateways give it rather the appearance of a sort of fig-tree (*cf.* Pls. 22 and 46). This being so, one might be tempted to see on this panel a picture of the gift of the Mango Grove by the courtezan Āmrapālī, and in that case, the two women in the foreground would be the donor herself (with the ewer) and her attendant, whilst the two male figures would stand for two of the Licchavi princes of Vaiśālī: but the identification would, in our opinion, be questionable, since bearers of ewers abound in these little pictures round all the *bodhi-drumas* (*cf.* Pls. 12, 4; 13, 4; 22, 2; 101, 4).—For other mango-trees promoted to the dignity of *bodhi-trees*, see Pls. 96, 2 and 103*d*.

6. *Top false-capital.*—Two Indian bulls couchant, with one knee lifted, recall the bulls set back to back on Persian capitals. Notice their characteristic hump; the head-stall passing through their nostrils, crossing over their muzzles, then folded back round each horn and fixed by a turn or two round the forehead (*cf.* Pls. 41 and 43); the rope round their shoulders, holding the end of the tail forwards, doubtless to prevent it from flicking dust into the faces of the occupants of the chariot (*cf.* Pls. 19*c*; 15, 3; 18*a*; 43, 4, etc., where the same practice is observed with harnessed horses); and lastly the heavy necklaces, still worn by cattle in India. The fastening of these necklaces by means of a big stud passing through a loop, is the same in the case of the men (*cf.* Pl. 36*a-b*), but is better illustrated here. The two riders are evidently great noblemen, if we may judge by their attire; each of them is holding up a tray with a garland, similar to those seen in the hands of the praying figures on the top die of Pl. 17, but here coiled like a snake.

The *middle false-capital*, which should be just like the preceding one (*cf.* Pl. 17), is missing.

7. *Bottom False-Capital.*—The two animals back to back are elephants here, and we have already pointed out (p. 214) the exceptional part which the left-hand one plays in the general subject of the lintel. It will be noticed that the staff of the standard is made of a bundle of sticks bound together at intervals, surmounted by an ensign (*nandipada*), and fitting into a kind of metal butt: the bearer, forced by the weight of these flag-bearing fasces to hold them in both arms, has (to secure his seat) wound round his hips a rope fastened to the elephant's girth. The latter rope holds in place the richly embroidered caparison, decorated with tassels at the corners; a similar cloth, but smaller, forms the saddle; and a third, making a hood over the crown of the beast's head and falling in draped folds on each side of the shoulders above the king's legs, protecting him from contact with the huge flapping ears, is fastened by a rope passing under the neck. What the cord with the bell is hung on to, is not quite clear (*cf.* Pls. 17, 42 and 44).

For the lions of the capitals, *cf.* above, Part II, pp. 138-9.

PLATE 17

BACK OF SOUTHERN GATEWAY: WEST END OF ARCHITRAVES

1. (*Front of*) *Top Lintel.*—This relief, completely symmetrical with its companion (*cf.* Pl. 16, 1), shows us a royal personage with his groom on his left carrying the umbrella and fly-whisk; in the presence of one of his wives, he is preparing to mount a horse and already holds the reins on its withers with his left hand. In front march a man holding with both hands a staff which rests on his left shoulder, with some indistinct object hanging from it, and a dwarf who has just put down a jar of water (which he was carrying in his hand on the east end of the bottom lintel on Pl. 16). Perhaps he was also holding in leash a dog, which has now disappeared with the fracture of the stone; in that case—the portrayal of the horseman excluding *ipso facto* the *Mahābhinishkramaṇa*—it would be a simple genre piece to be entitled 'Setting out for the Chase'?

2. *Middle Lintel.*—Here, as on the other end of the lintel (*cf.* Pl. 16, 2), the big and little elephant on the march in this landscape of trees and rocks are merely a continuation of the decoration of the middle section (Pl. 15, 2).

3. (*Front of*) *Bottom Lintel.*—In the same way, the two kings, one in a chariot and the other on an elephant, here forming the companion picture to those marching in the opposite direction on the other projecting end of the lintel (Pl. 16), complete the middle scene (Pl. 15, 3). Here again, the bearer of the bow and quiver is inserted between the king and the standard-bearer on the elephant's back. Behind and half hidden by the streamer floating above the elephant and the umbrella spread over the chariot, one can make out one of the trees cut in the shape of an arbour which we shall have occasion to refer to again (Pl. 64c).

4. *Top Die.*—Miracle of the *Sambodhi* of Vipaśyin symbolised by his *bignonia* above a throne (*cf.* Pl. 12, 4). We have already pointed out, in speaking of the top False-Capital on Pl. 16, the large garlands held by the praying figures. These are made in the Indian manner, by binding together a number of chaplets of flowers strung on threads.

5. *Bottom Die.*—An advance illustration of the *Sambodhi* of the future Buddha Maitreya, shown by his *Nāga-pushpa* or *Michelia champaka*.

6. *False-Capitals.*—The description of those on Pl. 16 may be repeated here almost word for word. But on the upper False-Capital, one of the two riders is holding up a relic-casket and the other (just between the horns of the ox) a blue lotus (*utpala*). On the lower one we should also notice that the hoods of the elephants are adorned with rich pendants; that the standard-bearer has tucked his legs under the caparison and under his left arm is holding the scabbard, covered with criss-cross thongs, of the king's broad-sword; and that the cloth of the standard is divided up by bands into six rectangular compartments, adorned with embroidered emblems in the form of the solar disc and the crescent moon.

7. At the bottom, right hand of this Plate may be seen a specimen of the winged figures, unfortunately damaged, which used to decorate the extremities of the lintels. Represented full-face and foreshortened, the trunk framed between the two wings and the head outlined against the feathers of the tail, they have been conceived exactly on the pattern of those, shown three-quarter face, which fill the upper corners of all the scenes of the Great Miracles.

For the lions of the capital, *cf.* above, Part II, pp. 138-9.

a. WEST END OF UPPER AND MIDDLE ARCHITRAVES

b. WEST END OF LOWER ARCHITRAVE AND CAPITAL

BACK OF SOUTHERN GATEWAY

WEST PILLAR OF SOUTHERN GATEWAY

UPPER PANELS ON FRONT FACE

UPPER PANELS ON FACE

PLATE 18

WEST PILLAR OF SOUTHERN GATEWAY

*a*1. *Top Panel of Front Face.*—Decorative picture of the third Great Miracle, that of the First Sermon (*cf.* p. 198). The sculptor has forgotten to surmount the Indo-Persian pillar with its usual capital of lions; on the other hand he has given it a pedestal. The Wheel of the Law, topped by a garlanded umbrella, contains 32 spokes, to which the same number of *nandipada* (or should we say *tri-ratna*?) emblems correspond on the outer side of the felly. Below, eight deer make it certain that the place of the scene is the *Mrigadāva*, near Benares. Four kings, each accompanied by his suite and, according to the conventions of the old perspective, supposed to be standing at the four compass points of the monument (*cf.* inscriptions on the Bharhut relief, Cunn., Pl. 14, 1), certainly represent the four *Lokapālas* or Guardians of the World.

*b*1. *Top Panel of East Face.*—Decorative picture of the second Great Miracle—the Enlightenment. The *aśvattha* of the *sambodhi* of Śākyamuni already stands, adorned with streamers and topped with a double garlanded umbrella, in the centre of a temple open to the sky, which the piety of Aśoka is supposed to have erected round it two centuries later. Observe the three dormer-windows and the four pinnacles on the roof, the designs of the columns, and especially the three-fold emblem which the sculptor has likewise anticipated on the Master's *vajra-āsana* (*cf.* p. 197): for in fact there cannot yet be any question of the second and third *ratnas* (jewels), that is, the Buddhist Law and Community (*cf.* Pl. 51*a*).

*a*2. *Middle Panel of Front Face.*—A king in a chariot, accompanied by a suite (reduced in number on account of the smallness of the panel), is going somewhere. It seems natural to suppose that the clue to the riddle is given by the adjacent panel (*b*2), and that we have here King Aśoka going to pay his famous visit to the bodhi-tree. As on Pl. 15, 2, he is accompanied by his viceroy, riding an elephant. For the herald with the club (or sword? *cf.* Pl. 62, 2), see p. 212 and n. 3.

*b*2. *Middle Panel of East Face.*—For the identification which the attitude of the king between his two queens has suggested to us, see above, p. 212. Two more female attendants are holding respectively the umbrella and the pitcher containing the king's drink, with the drinking cup; for the probable purpose of the jar set on the ground, see p. 212, n. 4. In the two women squatting on both sides on *morhas* of rattan, we must doubtless see, as at Amarāvatī, the vendors of offerings and religious articles who are to be found, then as now and in India as everywhere else, round places of pilgrimage; in fact, they are both so unconcerned with the action, that one of them (at the left) has her back turned. In the top right-hand corner, garlands are hung on pegs (*nāga-danta*).

*a*3. *Lower Panel of Front Face.*—There is no inscription here to tell us who is the great lord riding in procession on an elephant with the women of his court; but as the adjacent panel *b*3 seems to show where he is going, we may guess his identity from that; so we have ventured to call him Indra (see above, p. 227). Notice, again, that the woman bearing the umbrella and riding on Airāvata is almost as big as her master; that Queen Śacī is holding a child in front of her on the neck of her elephant; and that the procession is passing under a *toraṇa* with a single lintel, of the type we have already met on Pl. 16, 1.

*b*3. *Bottom Panel of East Face.*—As we have said (p. 227), the analogy of an inscribed relief at Bharhut (Cunn., Pl. 16, 1) banishes any doubt as to the subject and place of the scene. The sculptor has contrived most ingeniously to seat some of the 'Thirty-three' gods on the left, in order to let us see above their heads the orchestra of heavenly nymphs and the contorsions of the lovely dancer with the heavy plaits. It seems to be to the headdress (*cūḍā*) that two of the sky-dwellers are paying the honours of the umbrella and fly-whisk; but we should probably recognize Śakra, the Indra of the gods, in the tall personage standing in the foreground with clasped hands.

On the border of the pillars will be noticed the alternation of Indo-Persian pillars (between *a*2 and *b*2) and floral patterns of stylised lotus (between *a*1 and *b*1), and between *a*3 and *b*3 of a vine with grapes.

PLATE 19

PILLARS OF SOUTHERN GATEWAY

a-b. West Face of West Pillar.—The general conception of the decoration is similar to that of the bottom lintel (Pl. 11, 3); here, too, we see a lotus stalk, issuing probably from the navel (*cf.* Pl. 11, 3 and 78, nos. 22*a* and 23*a*) of the *kumbhāṇḍa* seen in *b*, waving and curling into a volute. The field between the waves is covered with still more varied themes—flowers, fruits, jewels, parrots and other birds, lions and human figures. Compare particularly the couple at the bottom of *a*, sitting in the forest near two lions, with those on Pls. 13, 2 and 44, 1; the genie is playing the harp, whilst the fairy by his side is holding on her knees a heavy necklace of charms, like the one which the Yakshī of the middle wave wears on her breast. For other observations on this panel and for the meaning of the two rings in the lowest register of *a*, see Part II, p. 144 and n. 1.

c. Front of East Pillar.—We know that the pillar is devoted to the Bodh-Gayā cycle (*cf.* p. 205 *sqq.*).

*c*1. The top panel suggests, in the old manner, the repose of the 'completely accomplished Buddha' under the Goatherd's *nyagrodha* and the Mucilinda episode (*cf.* p. 208). It will be noticed that the Nāga-rāja is sitting on his own coils. Around him four of his queens are sitting on *morhas*; at the back, two standing female attendants are waving fly-whisks. Here, again, the Nāgīs have only one hood (*cf.* Pl. 11, 2).

*c*2. The middle panel, though damaged, still reveals three of the four *Lokapālas* or Guardian Kings of the World, standing and each offering a begging-bowl to the invisible seated Buddha. Each of them had his viceroy at his side, and one of the viceroys on the left is playing the harp, exactly as the Gandharva Pañcaśikha does on the occasion of Indra's Visit (*cf.* p. 218 and Pl. 35*b*, 1).

*c*3. The bottom panel shows the merchants Trapusha and Bhallika passing through Uruvilvā. This is an excellent opportunity to study an ox-chariot and its trappings. Observe the way the tails of the oxen are fastened (*cf.* Pl. 16, 1), and for the dog, compare Pl. 16, 3. One might be tempted to see the two merchants once more in the top right-hand corner after dismounting from their vehicle, each with an offering in his right hand; but the resemblance to the figure in the opposite corner and the way servants carry jars of this sort in all the processions (*cf.* Pls. 16, 6; 18*b* 2; etc.) seem to prove that these are subordinate members of the caravan, like the ewer-carrier (below at the left).

d. West Face of East Pillar.—One of the difficulties of interpretation lies in the impossibility of determining with any degree of certainty the chronological order of the subjects on the various panels.

*d*1. The top panel, as a matter of fact, shows in the traditional manner the *sambodhi* of the Buddha Vipaśyin and not of Śākya-muni. The woman that we see piously prostrating herself on each side of the Master's throne may be an allusion to Sujātā's offering. The question crops up again in *d*3 and 4.

*d*2. The identification of this temple has been discussed above (p. 209); there is nothing exceptional about its architecture.

*d*3. Here, thanks to the characteristic appearance of the principal actor, the grass-cutter, the meaning of the scene is clear (*cf.* p. 206). Observe the shape of his sickle. The woman that we see on each side of the throne and who, at the right of the spectator, is raising an offering in her right hand, is perhaps Sujātā.

*d*4. This question should, it seems, be answered affirmatively in the storey below; the ewers held by the two prostrate women are the well-known symbol of donation; moreover, their presence here might, if necessary, be justified by the rule of washing the hands before and after the meal. But, even so, the Sujātā episode ought to precede the episode of the grass-cutter; and the offering of a rice-pudding could not be made in a ewer. It seems much simpler to admit that we have here the ordinary stereotype of the *Sambodhi*, with its usual circle of male and female worshippers, the females with ewers (Pls. 16, 5; 22, 2 [left], etc.).

*d*5. In this case the context of the pillar would, from top to bottom, determine the order of the offering of Svastika (3), the Enlightenment (4) and lastly Buddha's Walk (*cf.* p. 207). It will be noticed that the wreath above the covered walk or *caṅkrama* (*cf.* Pls. 34*a*, 50*a*, 51*a* and *b*) is supposed to be hanging from curved pegs (*nāga-danta*).

e. East Face of East Pillar.—The same design will be found complete on Pl. 50*b*.

a

b

a. WEST PILLAR OF SOUTHERN GATEWAY
PANEL ON WEST FACE

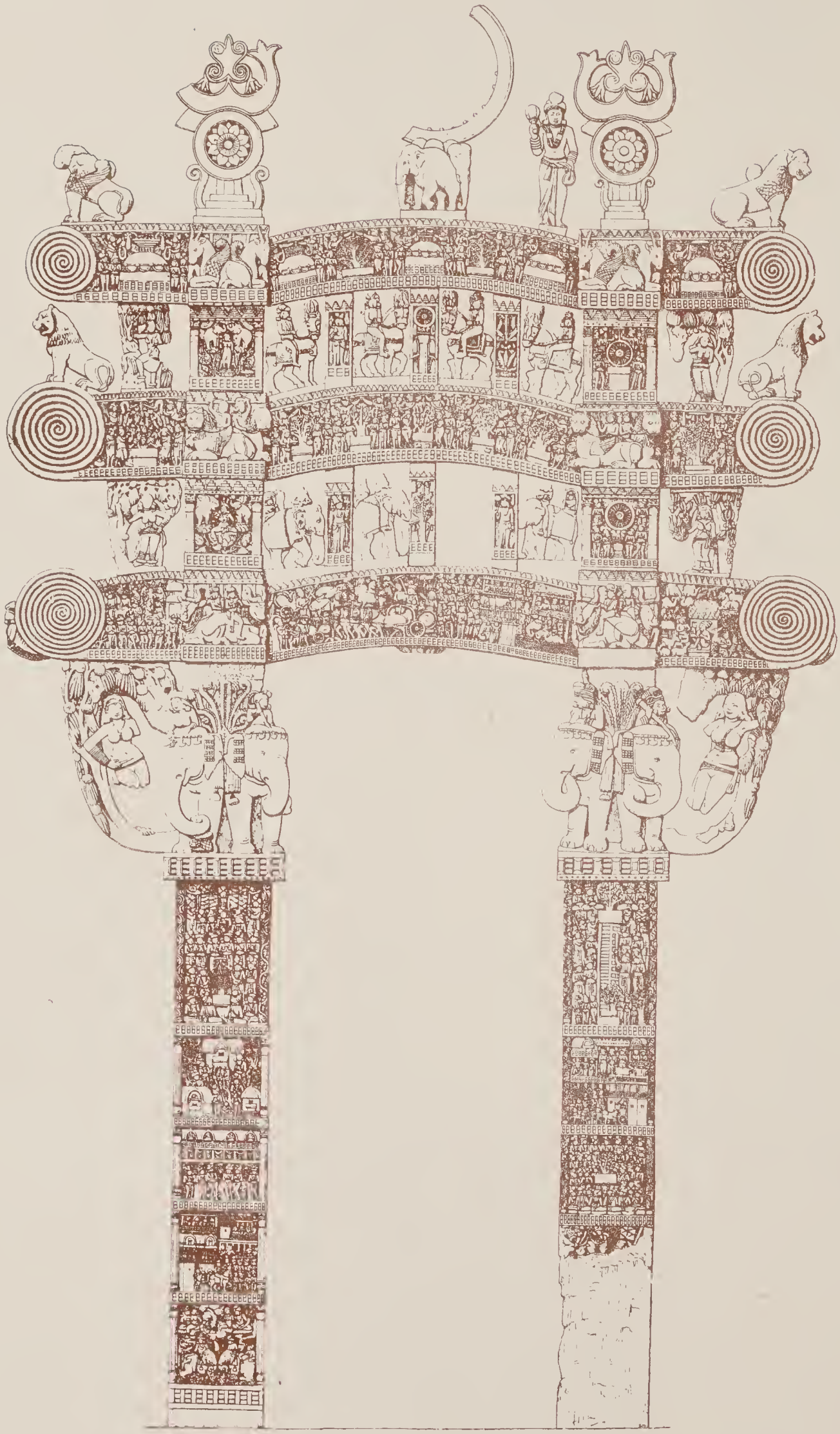
b LOOSE FRAGMENT OF LOWER PANEL ON WEST FACE

d

e

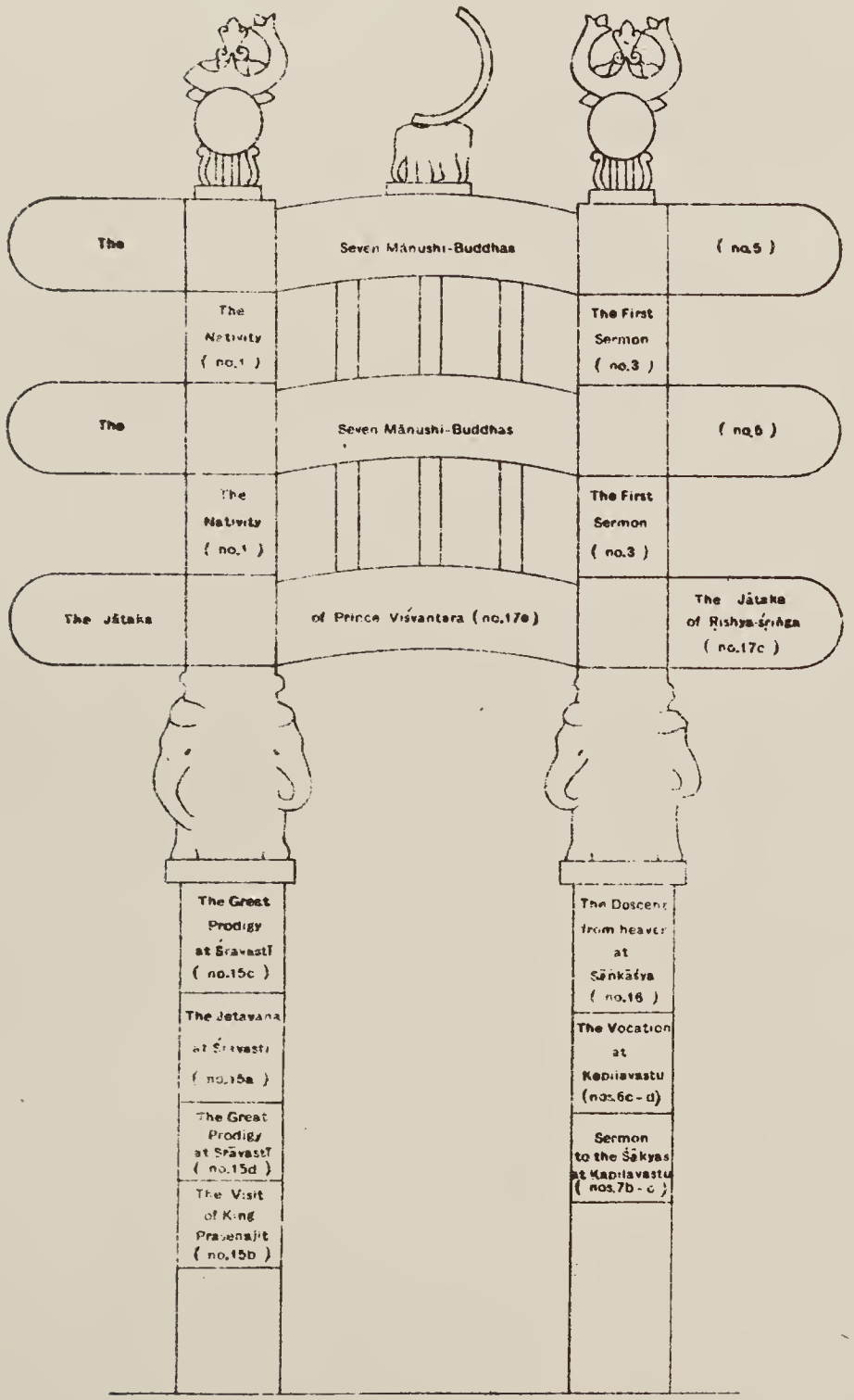
e. LOOSE FRAGMENT OF EAST FACE

E ST P RN GATEWAY LOOSE FRAGMENT c FRONT FACE



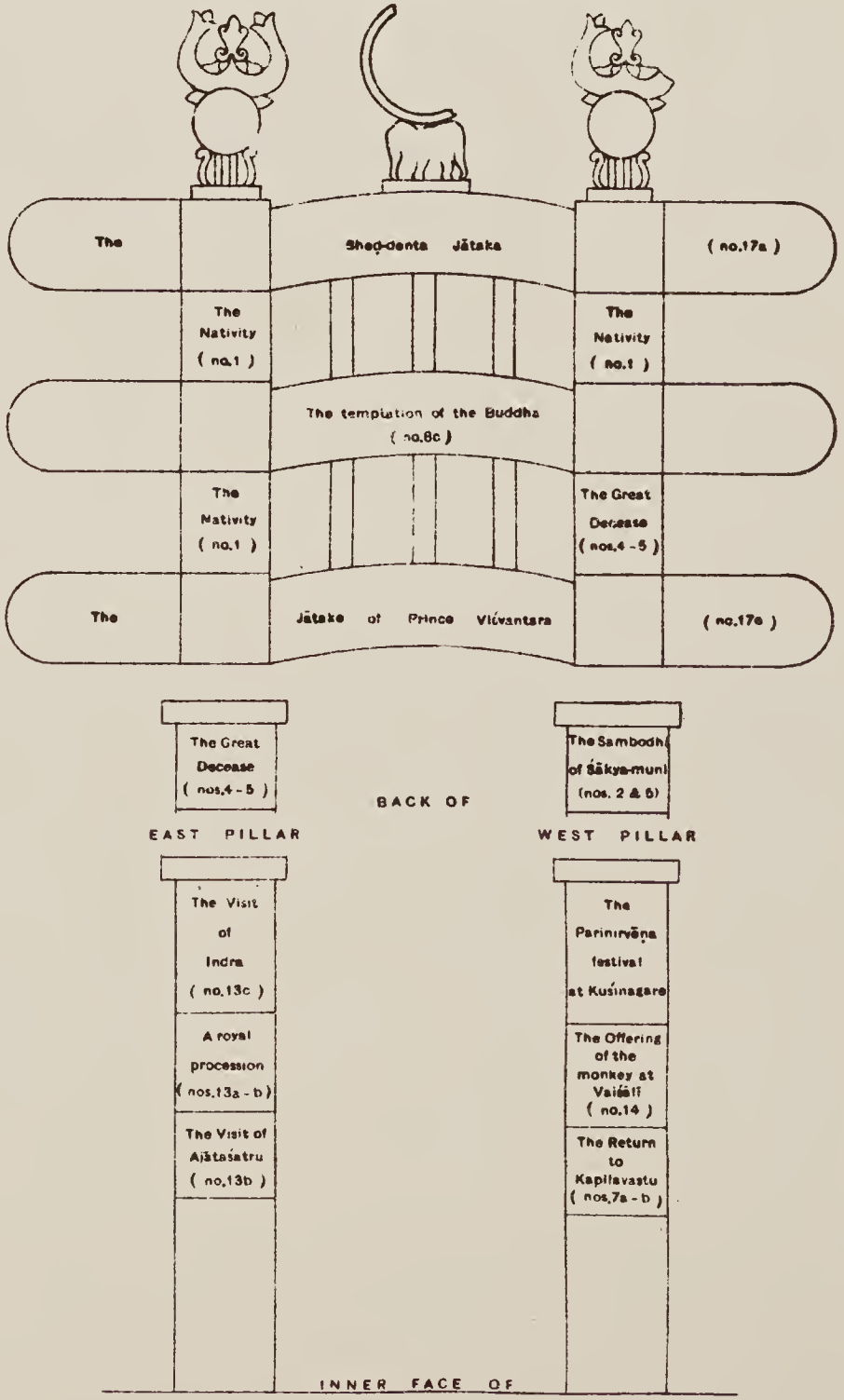
FRONT ELEVATION OF NORTHERN GATEWAY

FRONT


The
Seven Mānushi-Buddhas
(no.5)
The Nativity (no.1)
The First Sermon (no.3)
The
Seven Mānushi-Buddhas
(no.6)
The Nativity (no.1)
The First Sermon (no.3)
The Jātaka
of Prince Viśvantara (no.17e)
The Jātaka of Ṛishya-śṛiṅga (no.17c)
The Great Prodigy at Śrāvastī (no.15c)
The Jetavana at Śrāvastī (no.15a)
The Great Prodigy at Śrāvastī (no.15d)
The Visit of King Prasenajit (no.15b)
The Descent from heaven at Sāṅkāśya (no.16)
The Vocation at Kapilavastu (nos.6c - d)
Sermon to the Śākyas at Kapilavastu (nos.7b - c)

EAST PILLAR WEST PILLAR

BACK


The
Sheṣ-denta Jātaka
(no.17a)
The Nativity (no.1)
The Nativity (no.1)
The temptation of the Buddha (no.8c)
The Nativity (no.1)
The Great Decease (nos.4 - 5)
The
Jātaka of Prince Vi\vantara
(no.17e)
The Great Decease (nos.4 - 5)
The Sambodhi of Śākya-muni (nos. 2 & 6)
The Visit of Indra (no.13c)
A royal procession (nos.13a - b)
The Visit of Ajātaśatru (no.13b)
The Parinirvāṇa festival at Kuśinagara
The Offering of the monkey at Vaiśālī (no.14)
The Return to Kapilavastu (nos.7a - b)

BACK OF EAST PILLAR BACK OF WEST PILLAR

INNER FACE OF EAST PILLAR INNER FACE OF WEST PILLAR

NORTHERN GATEWAY : INDEX-MAP OF THE LEGENDARY SCENES

Reg. No. 3936 E'36—585.

Helio. S. I. O. Calcutta.

PLATE 21

FRONT FACE OF NORTHERN GATEWAY

Observe that the Northern Gateway, like the Eastern, and unlike the Southern and Western Gateways, did not have to undergo re-erection in the course of the last century, and that it is the only one that has kept the greater part of its ornamental figures in place.

It is evident that the decoration of the top originally consisted of no less than seven figures: in the centre, a Wheel of the Law and on both sides of it an attendant Yaksha, a *tri-ratna* and a winged lion.

A rapid comparison with Pl. 28 will show that, like the Yakshas on the summit, the lions and (with one exception) the Yakshīs in the spaces between the lintels are carved in the round, whilst the horses and elephants and their riders are carved on both faces in high relief, so that they look in both directions (*cf.* p. 134).

Elephants have taken the place of lions on the capitals here and on the Eastern Gateway; atlantes take their place on the Western Gateway and the Gateway of Stūpa 3.

As on the Southern Gateway, the pillars are edged with small pilasters or with sinuous creepers, including the vine.

The general meaning of the decoration was given on p. 235. We will merely point out for the reader's convenience that this facade shows him:—

(*a*) On the two top lintels the series of the seven Mānushi-Buddhas, whose iconographical importance is thus confirmed; on the bottom lintel the *Ṛishya-śṛiṅga-jātaka* on the right, and in the middle and on the left, the first episodes of the *Viśvantara-jātaka*;

(*b*) On the four dies, the Nativity twice on the left, and the First Sermon twice on the right.

(*c*) On the six uprights between the lintels, a First Sermon above, and a *Sambodhi* below, the Great Miracle being always attended by two genii. It will be noticed that the top right upright has been set back to front: the palmettes belonging to the back have been given the honours of the facade, whilst the genie expected to form a pair with the one on the left is now looking south (*cf.* Pl. 28); but it is to be noted that the mistake was made in ancient, not in modern, times.

(*d*) On the facade of the left (east) jamb, various miracles, the majority of which have the common bond of taking place at Śrāvastī.

(*e*) On the facade of the right (west) jamb, the miracle of the Descent from Heaven at Sāṅkāśya, and two episodes enacted at Kapilavastu. It is hard to determine whether we have lost one or two carved panels by the decay of the stone.

The photograph here reproduced was taken before the restoration of the dome of the stūpa.

FRONT FACE OF NORTHERN GATEWAY

FRONT OF NORTHERN GATEWAY: MIDDLE SECTION OF UPPER AND MIDDLE ARCHITRAVES.

PLATE 22

FRONT OF NORTHERN GATEWAY

The middle part of the two top lintels can be interpreted iconographically only in conjunction with the two projecting ends.

1. *Top Lintel.*—The front shows, as usual, the seven last Mānushi-Buddhas represented alternately by the trees of their *Sambodhi* and the tumuli of their *Parinirvāṇa*, as on the Southern (Pl. 15, 1), Eastern (Pls. 39 and 45) and Western (Pl. 54; *cf.* Pls. 95 and 99) Gateways. Here we see only five of these symbols, namely two *bodhi-drumas* and three stūpas. Although the facade is blackened and eaten away by the inclemency of the north, we seem to recognize the *aśvattha* or *ficus religiosa* of Śākyamuni at the left, and at the right the *nyagrodha* or *ficus indica* of Kāśyapa—that is, the trees consecrated to the two last Buddhas of the series.

2. *Middle Lintel.*—The designers of the Northern Gateway, apparently sure of public approval, were not ashamed to repeat twice on the facade the same sequence of the seven last Saviours of the world, and for the second time they have symbolised them by their seven trees; on the Eastern Gateway the same repetition is banished to the back (*cf.* Pl. 45), where the series goes in inverse order, from right to left. Here, however, it begins at the left with the *pāṭali* or *bignonia* of Vipaśyin (*cf.* Pl. 24), continuing on the present plate with the fig-tree (unnamed) of Śikhin, the *śāla* or *shorea robusta* of Viśvabhū, the *sirīsha* or *acacia* of Krakucchanda (naturally in the middle in both cases), the *udumbara* or *ficus glomerata* of Kanakamuni, the *nyagrodha* or *ficus indica* of Kāśyapa, and ending on Pl. 26 with the *aśvattha* or *ficus religiosa* of Śākyamuni. The analogy of the inscribed representations at Bharhut (Cunn., Pls. 29 30), in addition to their place in the series, allows no hesitation in identifying all these trees except that of Śikhin, the only one which has not been found at Bharhut. The evidence of our eyes allows us to assert that here the artist has in mind, not a mango (*cf.* Pl. 16, 5), but a fourth variety of fig-tree (there is no lack of them in India) other than the *religiosa*, *indica* and *glomerata*, and that he meant in fact to suggest the *elastica* or rubber-tree.

3. *Uprights.*—On the centre one, the sculptor has taken advantage of the narrow length of the panel and placed his wheel of the First Sermon at the top of an Indo-Persian column and on a capital made of four lions back to back, like the original set up at Sārnāth by Aśoka on the very site of the third Great Miracle, not to mention its copy at Sāñchī itself (*cf.* Pl. 107). Notice the garlands and umbrellas and especially the curious shape of the two banners. On the left we have the attendant genie, holding a hem of his *dhotī* in his lowered left hand (*cf.* Pl. 50*a*) and raising (not for his own pleasure, but for a ritual offering?) a long lotus bud in his right, balanced by a hanging garland at the other side of his head. On the right, by mentally turning round the upright, we must replace the Yaksha wrongly figuring on Pl. 29 (*cf.* Pl. 23), and exactly like the former but that his flower is more open.

4. *Detached Figures.*—The crowning piece in the centre was evidently a big *dharma-cakra* or 'Wheel of the Law', the symbol of Buddhist doctrine—probably with 32 spokes like the one on Pl. 18, 1, and supported by a pedestal composed of four elephants arranged as on the capitals of the Eastern Gateway (*cf.* Pl. 42).—The surviving attendant genie is very similar to the *dvārapālas* on the five gates and the Yakshas which we have just seen and shall see again on the uprights. He is holding a fly-whisk in his right hand and in his left what appears to be the end of his *dhotī* folded to the form of an Indian purse (*cf.* Pl. 91*g*). As for the four riders which fill the intervals of the lintels between the three uprights, they are carved on two faces, so as to look towards both the inside and the outside of the monument (*cf.* Pl. 29). One can detect here what is seen more clearly on Pl. 29, the shield-shaped plaque (*Śrīvatsa*)[1] which their steeds wear on the chest.

[1] For this device, see Coomaraswamy, *Notes on Indian Coins and Symbols* (in *Ostasiatische Zeitscrift*, Neue Folge iv, Heft 4), p. 183 *sq.*

PLATE 23

FRONT OF NORTHERN GATEWAY

*a*1. *Bottom Lintel.*—On this lintel, one of Sāñchī's masterpieces, is carved the former rebirth of the Buddha under the name of Viśvantara, the prince of charity (*cf.* p. 225). The story begins at the right in the capital of the Sibis, an excellent excuse for giving us the stereotype of the city (*cf.* Pls. 31, 1; 40, 2; 61, 1 and 2). Behind the battlemented rampart the heir-apparent, riding his elephant, is meeting a foreign Brāhman anchorite in the foreground and receiving his request in the middle-ground; then, in the background, he appears with his family at the balcony and is leaning out, pouring from a ewer onto the hands of this anchorite the water which sanctions the donation of the great Nāga-elephant of the kingdom: so that in all we have three representations, one above another, of the prince and the Brāhman facing each other. Four citizens look passively on at this eminently impolitic action; though it does seem to wrench a gesture of surprise and protestation from the king, who is also observing it from the top of his balcony: and that is the end of the first act.—The section of the lintel between a line passing left of the royal balcony and of the gateway of the town, and another passing in the rear of the chariot, contains the whole of the second scene, namely the farewells of the prince, condemned to exile for squandering the treasures of state. From right to left we see, one behind the other, two female attendants, one carrying a casket and the other a ewer, who, having just come out of the town, link this scene neatly with the foregoing; then the two women bearing the umbrella and (above) the fly-whisk; then the queen-mother, and finally the king, who is raising his right hand in a gesture of grief. Facing this first group stand Viśvantara and his wife Mādrī (P. Maddī), with their two children in front of them; the father and children have hands clasped, as have also the seven citizens who represent the population of the capital. One may notice that the king and his heir have the same peculiar headdress. The left part of the lintel consists of three or, if you like, four episodes concerning the prince's chariot-and-four, and provides an admirable opportunity for studying the body, wheels, shaft and yoke of the quadriga, as well as the harness of the team. (1) First comes the departure of the family: notice that, having no servants, the prince has taken the reins and the stick (it is certainly not a whip and it does not seem to be a goad) in his hands, whilst the princess is herself waving the fly-whisk. As the royal umbrella continues beside the prince's head on the other side, unless it is by a miracle, it must be that the handle is fixed in some socket on the coach. (2) In the left foreground, the prince, according to the required forms, is giving his unyoked chariot to a Brāhman beggar. The two children have remained in the carriage, but Mādrī has alighted and is holding the yoke, while her husband holds the shaft, thus joining him in his act of charity. Notice the indication of the trickle of water coming from the ewer onto the outstretched right hand of the Brāhman, who is holding his ritual jug (*kamaṇḍalu*) in the other. (3) The thread of the story next shifts into the background and is returned towards the right. Left, the same Brāhman is dragging behind him the empty chariot obtained by his shameless begging. (4) Right, another Brāhman, no less impudent, is leading after him the four horses which he has likewise begged, apparently aided in this task by two of his *brahmacārins* or novices, recognizable by their long hair. We will not quarrel with the sculptor for not having repeated for the team of horses the donation scene already shown for the chariot. Indications of trees (bignonia, mango, and banana trees) tell us that we are now in the country. There remains the man seen half-length in the middle of the two groups of four horses? Is he, as we are inclined to believe, their charioteer, or simply a villager acting as a stop-gap? What is certain is that all the other persons are admirably definite. The story continues on Pl. 25, 1.

2. *Uprights.*—The central upright shows the *bodhi-druma* of Śākyamuni forming the companion to his *dharma-cakra* (*cf.* Pl. 22, 3), between the same umbrellas and banners. On each side a Yaksha is paying him homage with a lotus flower. Notice that here the attitudes of the two genii are not identical, but symmetrical, and such that both seem to be turning towards the representation of the second Great Miracle.

3. *Detached Figures.*—The three elephants extant are carved in the round, but the two riders, master and servant, on each of them (*cf.* Pl. 42) are carved in double high relief, so that they face, and are seen equally from, two sides at once (*cf.* Pl. 29).

b. *Soffit of Bottom Lintel.*—These full-blown pink lotuses (*padma*) framed between blue lotuses (*utpala*) may be compared to those which decorate the outer face of the jambs (Pls. 19*e*, 50*b*, etc.).

(a) FRONT OF NORTHERN GATEWAY: MIDDLE SECTION OF LOWEST ARCHITRAVE

(b) SOFFIT OF THE SAME

FRONT OF NORTHERN GATEWAY: EAST END OF UPPER AND MIDDLE ARCHITRAVES

PLATE 24

FRONT OF NORTHERN GATEWAY: EAST END

1. *Top and Middle Lintels.*—The themes represented are inseparable from those which decorate the rest of these two lintels (*cf.* Pls. 22 and 26). Above, a stūpa stands for the *Parinirvāṇa* of one of the seven Mānushi-Buddhas. Below, a bignonia specifies that we are looking at the *Sambodhi* of the first of the seven, namely Vipaśyin. Notice the inverted goblet on the top of the water-jar standing on the ground at the left.

2. *Die.*—An already very advanced representation of the Nativity (*cf.* pp. 183 and 197): one can discern the umbrella behind the jars held in the two *Nāga*-elephants' trunks.

3. *False-Capitals.*—Iranian in style and formed of two animals couchant back to back: winged stags above and winged lions in the middle. The latter are bridled and mounted by riders who are lashing them with switches; the sleeved tunics and absence of turbans show them to be foreigners.

4. *Detached Figures.*—If the *triratna* on the top of the east pillar is indeed, as it seems to be, the symbol of the three Buddhist Jewels, the full wheel decorated by a lotus must be admitted to stand for the Doctrine or *dharma*; the *taurine* surmounting it, for the Master; and the third element introduced here (absent on Pls. 18*b*, and 51*a* in representations of the *Sambodhi*), the shield (*śrīvatsa*), would then appear to represent the Community (*saṅgha*). The volute horns on both sides of the pedestal are probably intended to consolidate the whole.

The two lions (one winged) and the Yakshī are carved in the round (*cf.* Pl. 32, 5): the latter, much mutilated, is holding by her right hand on to the arched bough of a bignonia; the left hand probably rested on the hip (*cf.* Pl. 25).

PLATE 25

FRONT OF NORTHERN GATEWAY: EAST END

1. *Bottom Lintel.*—Continuation of the *Viśvantara-jātaka* (*cf.* Pl. 23*a* 1): the prince holding their little boy by the hand, and his wife carrying their little girl on her hip, are pursuing the road of exile on foot; with hands clasped the village people are lining their way. Above their heads are scenes of rural life: on the right, two peasant women are sitting with their children in front of their cottages; in the middle, two peasants, shouldering spear or bow, are going hunting; at the left, two others are returning from the forest, and the second is carrying two haunches of antelope balanced on his shoulder at the ends of a stick; notice the shape of the knife stuck in his *kamarband*. A lion finally makes it clear that we are getting deeper and deeper into the jungle. Continuation on the back (Pl. 33, 1).

2. *Die.*—Representation of the Nativity intermediate between those on Pls. 13 and 24 (*cf.* p. 197): Māyā is still seated on the lotus, but the *Nāga*-elephants are already performing their office.

3. *False-Capital.*—Again we find the two zebus (*bos indicus*) ridden by Indian lords, as on Pls. 16, 41, 43, etc.

4. *Capitals.*—The capitals of the jambs, as usual decorated with palmettes, are flanked at the four corners by four elephants, not by lions as on the Southern Gateway; but these elephants, unlike those on the Eastern Gateway, show only their fore-quarters, and consequently do not lend themselves to so complete a description (*cf.* Pl. 42). Yet we already see the hoods with pendants, the double bells and the folds of their saddle-cloths. As for the fact that ladies ride on them, as one is doing here on the left, and sometimes even wield the *aṅkuśa* themselves, we know it is a sport that queens shared with kings (*cf.* Pl. 18*a*). Notice the lithe play of the trunks and the fact that all eight elephants on the two capitals show two empty cavities where the tusks were originally rooted (carried out either in stone or in real ivory?). For further remarks on these elephant-capitals, see Part II, p. 139.

5. *Detached Figures.*—Another general remark which we must make is that the small arched trees under which all the *śālabhañjikā* (*cf.* p. 232 and note) on the Northern Gateway are sheltering, agree in having their trunks on the outer side of the figure (*cf.* Pl. 21). This absolute rule, which the maker of the Eastern Gateway has set aside, here gives the bracket a less decorative appearance than on Pl. 44; but it is more solid and the accident which broke the legs and the right arm did not, as on Pl. 42, carry off the whole figure. Notice the comparative simplicity of the dress and jewels (*cf.* Pl. 33). The tree is a bignonia, whose flowers are, as usual, represented facing front, so that one cannot see the 'trumpet' shape to which they owe their name in Sanskrit and English.

This tree seems to share the fairies' favour with the mango-tree, and it is also a bignonia to which the Yakshī placed between the middle and bottom lintels is clinging, as well as the one above her on Pl. 24; their two opposites, however, have adopted the mango-tree (Pls. 26 and 27). We shall recur (Pl. 27, 3) to their wealth of heavy ornament.

We would point out, once for all, that in the female figures the sex is clearly marked beneath the transparent *dhotī* draped round their lower limbs.

FRONT OF NORTHERN GATE AT EAST END OF LOWEST ARCHITRAVE AND CAPITAL

FRONT OF NORTHERN GATEWAY: WEST END OF UPPER AND MIDDLE ARCHITRAVES.

PLATE 26

FRONT OF NORTHERN GATEWAY: WEST END

In obedience to the laws of symmetry in force in the Mālwā School, Pl. 26 forms an almost exact companion to Pl. 24 and requires no individual description, though a few differences of detail may be noted, where these are worthy of remark.

1. *Top and Middle Lintels.*—Of the stūpa above, all that we can say is that it is not that of the last Buddha, Śākya-muni; for he is already represented on the top lintel by his *bodhi-druma* (*cf.* Pl. 22, 1). Contrariwise, the tree on the middle lintel is certainly the end of a series, for it is again the *aśvattha* of Śākya-muni. It will be noticed that from each side worshippers are approaching in families—father, mother and child (donors?). Observe in the right-hand bottom corner a ewer with a spout (*bhṛiṅgāra*) of the pattern already often seen.

2. *Die.*—Corresponding to the first Great Miracle on Pl. 24, we have here the third, namely the First Sermon. The wheel (with 25 spokes) rests directly upon the Master's throne between a king and his viceroy. Must we take this king to be Prasenajit, and see in this little scene a foreshadowing of the way in which this stale cliché passed, as the inscribed relief at Bharhut bears witness (Cunn., Pl. 13, 3), from the representation of the third Great Miracle to that of the Great Prodigy at Śrāvastī?

3. *False-Capital.*—Here the riders of the two winged lions, again dressed in close-fitting tunics, are wearing a headdress (topknot with a sort of diadem) resembling that of the jungle-dwellers (*cf.* Pls. 30, 3; 32, 47 and 48).

PLATE 27

FRONT OF NORTHERN GATEWAY: WEST END

1. *Bottom Lintel.*—Representation of the former birth of the Buddha as 'Antelope-horn' (*Ṛishya-śṛiṅga*) or 'Unicorn' (*Eka-śṛiṅga*); for identification, see above, p. 225, and for comparison with the Bharhut and Gandhāra versions, *cf. Mémoires concernant l'Asie orientale*, III, p. 23 and Pl. II, 3 and 4; Pl. IV, 3). The Brāhman anchorite is seated on a stone throne before his hut roofed with leaves (*parṇa-śālā*): notice the cloth band which is tied round his knees and loins for convenience (*cf.* Pl. 52*a*2). The doe, shown with horns, is lying at his feet with raised head: it is the conception. She reappears behind his back, and it is the lying-in, for (already quite big) the new-born is devoutly taking his first bath in a lotus pool. Left of the hut the child appears again, his hands still clasped, and introduces himself to his father, who receives him with some legitimate surprise: for besides the unexpectedness of his birth, he has the oddity of a horn on the brow, inherited from his mother. All the rest, antelopes, lions, elephants, mango-trees, palm-trees, lotuses, etc., and the round temple with dome raised on pillars which shelters the hearth on which the sacred fire in burning (*cf.* Pls. 29 and 52), are inevitable accessories to the scene of the hermitage.

2. *Die.*—This representation of the third Great Miracle is distinguished from that on Pl. 26, 2 by the fact that this time the wheel (with 27 spokes) is placed on the lion-capital of an Indo-Persian column (*cf.* Pls. 22, 3; 40; 74, 3*a*; 103, 2, etc.) between two royal couples, each with a viceroy (?).

3. *Capital and False-Capital.*—For description of the elephants and Indian oxen, the reader is referred to their companions on Pl. 25.

4. *Detached Figures.*—This time, again, the *śālabhañjikā* is partly broken and hanging from an arched bignonia with its trunk on the outer side.

The Yakshī at the top, her head bowed towards the ground as if to greet her visitors, is picking a mango with her right hand and holding the edge of her scarf in her left. Even more clearly than on Pls. 11, 3 and 25, 5 one can see the two chains crossing over the body, joined between the breasts with a medallion, and coupled to four similar medallions placed on shoulders and hips. We know that a sixth medallion corresponding to the one on the chest, was fixed at the crossing of the chains on the back (see Pl. 29, 2).

FRONT OF NORTHERN GATEWAY: WEST END OF LOWEST ARCHITRAVE AND CAPITAL

PL XXVIII

BACK OF NORTHERN GATEWAY.

PLATE 28

BACK OF NORTHERN GATEWAY

The general remarks concerning Pl. 21 are equally applicable to this. At the left, between the ends of the upper and middle lintels, we notice the only Yakshī that is carved double, so as to face both ways. Remember, also, that the left-hand upright above ought to be turned back to front (Pl. 21 (*c*)).

The first two lintels are covered with two decorative compositions whose themes are, above, the legend of the six-tusked elephant, and in the middle, the Buddha's Enlightenment. The latter is set between two ornamental motifs in which peacocks appear (*cf.* Pls. 13, 3; 42 and 44, 1). From end to end the bottom lintel continues and concludes the tale of the *Viśvantara-jātaka*.

The dies bear three Nativities, two of them very archaic in style, and a *Parinirvāṇa*.

The uprights were all uniformly ornamented with palmettes issuing from a lotus seen in profile and from above, which resembles, and on the bottom right-hand upright assumes in fact the shape of, a *bhadra-ghaṭa* very similar to those on the two upper dies. Thus we wondered above (p. 184, n. 1) whether the second motif was not after all derived from the first.

Only the false-capitals at the top are like those on the facade the four others bear witness to a praiseworthy effort at variety.

PLATE 29

BACK OF NORTHERN GATEWAY: MIDDLE SECTION

1. *Top Lintel.*—Decorative representation of the legend of the six-tusked elephant (see p. 224 and *cf.* Pls. 15, 2 and 55, 3): it covers the lintel from end to end, but in fact does no more than portray the noble animal twice, grazing with his herd in a lotus pool on each side of the traditional banyan fig-tree (*nyagrodha: ficus indica*). Notice the pendent roots of the fig-tree, among which wander baby elephants. The unusual pose of the elephant in the left-hand top corner, which alone is turning its back to the tree, is perhaps intended to recall the jealous rage of one of the Bodhisattva's two wives. In any case this would be the only allusion to the tragic event which was to interrupt these idyllic gambols, and we get no glimpse of the hunter observed on Pl. 15, 2. (*Cf.* p. 120.)

2. *Middle Lintel.*—The identification of this piece would have been somewhat baffling on account of the extraordinary truculence of the figures in the right-hand half, did not the analogy of the Western Gateway (*cf.* Pls. 61, 3 and 65*b*1) prove incontestably that we are dealing with the demons who formed Māra's army. It follows that the royal personage shown near the middle of the lintel must be Māra himself in his character of god of the sixth heaven (*cf.* Pl. 49*a*). And the presence of the *bodhi-druma* on the left proves that the Buddha is not absent from the scene. Hence we are reminded of the famous incidents of the 'Temptation', which just before the *Sambodhi* brought on a contest between the Sage, abolisher of desire, and the Sovereign Lord of the worlds of Desire; and, indeed, to confirm us in the idea that we are really referred to this episode in the Buddha's career, Sujātā enters at the left with her tray in one hand and a ewer in the other, through the *toraṇa* which acts as porch to the *Bodhi-maṇḍa* (*cf.* Pl. 65*b*1), carrying the famous offering of rice pudding, the last food taken by the Master before his Enlightenment (*cf.* p. 206). Having thus fixed the time and place of the scene, it will be easier to understand the three incidents distinguished by the sculptor: First, he shows us Māra near the centre, seated on his royal throne between female figures bearing the umbrella and fly-whisk, as is the rule for gods as for kings (*cf.* Pl. 49): this is no doubt the moment when fear that the Blessed One may succeed in destroying his empire occurs to his mind; we do not here see him holding a council of war, as some texts relate; but it is curious to notice that near him, with the features of a child (notice the brush-shaped topknot on the head), the sculptor has portrayed one of those *Māra-putras* or 'sons of Māra' known to literary tradition. Next, we see Māra standing in company with this son and doubtless one of his 'daughters' to the immediate right of the tree, proceeding to the Temptation proper, which was only an exchange of more or less uncomplimentary words. Here, it is curious to notice that force of habit has made the sculptor join Māra's hands and treat the group in similar fashion to the praying families in the pictures of the second Great Miracle. The third scene is wedged in between the two former: Māra, his daughter and his son are retiring vanquished and discomfited as their gestures of grief and helplessness show. Meantime his demon court, utterly indifferent to what is happening on the left side of the lintel, continue to drink, sing and dance to music: evidently he has not yet mobilised them as on Pls. 61 and 65 for his 'assault' or 'attack' (*dharshaṇa*). The sculptor has given free rein to his fancy in showing this band of ruffianly genii, enormous, deformed, grimacing; and it is hard to say exactly to what they correspond in the popular mind, and whether they are Asuras caricatured or magnified Rākshasas: all we know is that they still haunt the Indian imagination, now enrolled among the *gaṇas* of Śiva. First of all, forming the companion figure to his divine leader, their general (*senā-pati*) is seated Indian-fashion with one of his lieutenants squatting on his right and his 'son' leaning against his left knee: behind him, two horrible demons replace the usual attendants, and the one on his right is handing him a drinking cup. Then, in place of the usual Apsaras or celestial nymphs of the first six *deva-lokas* (*cf.* Pl. 49) a burlesque orchestra (tambourines, harp and sistrum) is accompanying with music and singing the contorsions of a dancer no less grotesque than the musicians. Observe that they are all wearing on their chests the ornament made of medallions and chains which we have already described on Pl. 27, 4. (*Cf.* pp. 116-117.)

3. *Bottom Lintel.*—The middle part takes up the story of the *Viśvantara-jātaka* at the place where it stopped on the east end (Pl. 33, 1) and in four scenes reading from right to left represents:—(*a*) the life in the hermitage; (*b*) the gift of the children; (*c*) the gift of the wife; (*d*) the final reunion. We will consider these scenes in detail; for they are worth the trouble.

(*a*) For the picture of the hermitage, compare Pls. 27 and 52, and observe the hut of leaves; the lotus pool in which an elephant is bathing and two haṁsas are playing, and to which two boars (*cf.* Pl. 90 no. 86*a*) are coming to drink; the groves composed of mango-trees, bignonias, fan-palms and plantains, haunted by buffaloes, antelopes, lions, elephants and monkeys, etc.; the 'bark' dress adopted by the princely pair, as becomes anchorites; the hearth and utensils for sacrifice, etc. The children are playing in the background near the first hut. Notice that Viśvantara (with the supporting thong passing round knees and loins) and Mādrī appear again on the left seated on the threshold of a *parṇa-śālā*. Is this the same hut? More probably it is another; for the hermit's life in the forest required the separation of persons (*cf.* Pl. 65*a*1); at any rate, the presence of the second hut is of no service to the continuation of the story.

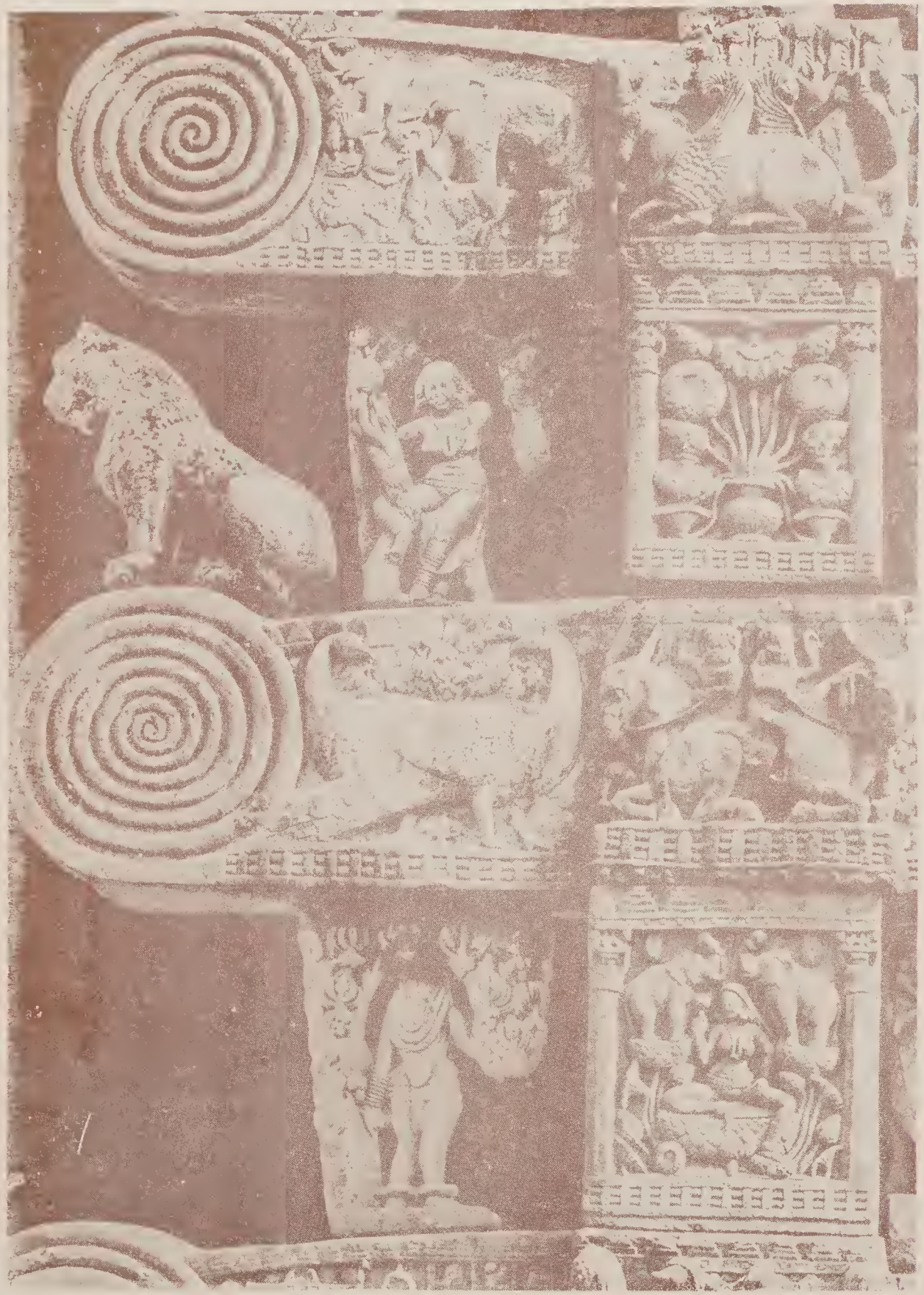
(*b*) The second tableau, indeed, begins just to the left of this hut and consists of four scenes only, two in the fore- and two in the background. Chronologically, we should begin at the top left, where the good hunter who watches over the repose of the exiles is trying, with taut bow, to stop the wicked Brāhman beggar; the bottle and the quarter of venison hanging above the hunter's head represent his drink and food and have naturally nothing to do with the usual diet of the prince and princess, who feed on fruits only. Just behind the hunter's back, Mādrī is coming back from her usual fruit-picking, a basket of mangoes on her head. This is the moment chosen by Indra disguised as a lion—here, indeed, as three lions—to block her path. Below, taking advantage of the mother's delay, the wicked Brāhman has the two children irrevocably given to him by the rite of the sprinkling of hands; after which, still in the foreground, he leads them to the left, beating them; we do not know where he is going till we get to Pl. 31, 1.

(*c*) Two scenes, one above the other, suffice now for the supreme sacrifice: in the foreground Viśvantara, as usual dressed as an anchorite, is giving away his wife by the same rite to another Brāhman beggar, whose floating hair distinguishes him from the children's kidnapper. A peacock fills in the space left between the feet of the group. In the background the beggar has changed into Śakra, the Indra of the Gods, recognizable by his thunderbolt, his jar of ambrosia and his tiara, and is presiding at the discreet outpourings of the pair after the cruel trials they have been through.

(*d*) The last tableau on the left of the middle section, with its two processions marching in opposite directions, can only be understood with the aid of Pl. 31, 1, and by remembering that the west end of the lintel shows again, as on Pl. 23, 1, the capital of the Śibis. It is from there that the royal cortege in the foreground is coming. The rider sheltered by a groom under an umbrella, preceded by his bearers of ewer and sandals and his musicians, is none other than the king, Viśvantara's father, who, accompanied by the two little children perched on one elephant, comes to seek the exiles in their retreat. It is also towards their native town that the king in the background, still on horseback, is leading back in triumph the two children, the prince and the princess, who have resumed their secular costume. All's well that ends well. But the happy ending, the rule in Buddhist stories, cannot be considered as quite complete till Pl. 31, 1 is reached.

For the uprights and detached figures, see Pls. 21 and 28.

BACK OF NORTHERN GATEWAY: MIDDLE SECTION OF ARCHITRAVES.



BACK OF NORTHERN GATEWAY: WEST END OF UPPER AND MIDDLE ARCHITRAVES, WITH CROWNING FIGURES.

PL. XXX.

PLATE 30

BACK OF NORTHERN GATEWAY: WEST END

1. *Top Lintel.*—Continuation and end, so far as the western part is concerned, of the elephant herd of the *Shaddanta*, which are also feeding in a lotus pool. Observe that, for the sake of variety and symmetry, they are turned left.

2. *Middle Lintel.*—Fine decorative theme, independent of the middle scene; these peacocks may be compared to the one on the Southern Gateway (Pl. 13) and those on the Eastern Gateway (Pls. 42 and 44). Between them is the outline of a mango-tree above, and below, a tiny plantain; under the beak of each hangs a bunch of grapes between two vine-leaves.

3. *Dies.*—The two dies represent the Nativity: the one above, in archaic fashion, by the lotus bunch issuing from the vase (we have already remarked, Pl. 29, that the back of the neighbouring uprights suggests a plausible origin for this motif); the one below, of a much more elaborate pattern, from which the *bhadra-ghaṭa* has disappeared but which includes the umbrella, though Māyā is still shown seated (*cf.* pp. 183 and 197).

4. *False-Capitals.*—We find at the top the same winged antelopes as on the facade (*cf.* Pls. 24 and 26), here surmounted by a very much stylised bignonia. In the middle, the animals back to back are goats, and their riders with switches in their hands, wear the typical head-dress (topknot rising in a brush on the top of the head and enclosed in a diadem) of jungle-dwellers (*cf.* Pl. 26, 3). The whole motif reappears on the back of the Eastern Gateway (Pls. 47 and 48).

5. *Detached Figures.*—For the *triratna* and the Yaksha at the top, see Pls. 22 and 24. We have already noticed that the Yakshī set in between the two top lintels is the only one carved double (*cf.* Pl. 26). The tree, which was a mango on the facade, has become a bignonia on the back, and the fairy with one leg round the trunk is assuming one of the favourite poses of the Yakshīs at Bharhut (*cf.* Cunn., Pls. 22 and 23), whereas the fairy placed below her is seen from behind. Details of dress will be seen still more clearly on the next Pl. 31, 5.

PLATE 31

BACK OF NORTHERN GATEWAY: WEST END

1. *Bottom Lintel.*—Here (on the back of Pl. 27) we follow to its denouement the *Viśvantara-jātaka*. Next to the return from exile on Pl. 29, 3, we see, as on Pl. 23, 1, the ramparts, gate and palaces of the capital of the Śibis. If, therefore, one were to set out the two sides of the lintel as on the same frieze, the story of Viśvantara would be framed between two representations of his native town, marking the beginning and end of his adventures. Further, the representations of the two cities are symmetrically reversed: in the present one, it is the royal palace which is on the right, still above the city gate, whilst the palace of the heir apparent has been pushed over to the left; but these buildings evidently correspond from picture to picture, and this fact will help us to identify the details. First scene: the king perceives from his balcony the wicked Brāhman, the children's kidnapper, whose most urgent business seems to be to come and sell them to their grandfather, and who in fact is seen above the merlon-shaped battlements. Second scene: reinstalled in the palace of the heir apparent, the whole exiled family, prince, princess and children, show themselves to the eyes of their loyal subjects. So ends the story. It may be noticed that the city moats are transformed into lotus pools haunted by *haṁsas*, where women come to fill their water jars and their banks into a park of mango-trees and bignonias. Observe the small figure (? watchman) in the corner between the stone gateway and the brick rampart.

2. *False-Capital.*—Here, again, we find the noble riders and richly plumed and harnessed horses of the Southern Gateway (Pls. 12 and 13): notice the shield (*Śrīvatsa*) on the chest and the way the end of the tail is fastened with a band passing under the saddle-cloth.

3. *Capital.*—See Pl. 25. The palmette of lotuses here comes out of a *bhadra-ghaṭa* or auspicious vase.

4. *Panel on back of West Pillar.—Sambodhi* of the Buddha Śākya-muni symbolised by his particular tree: one can recognize the tapering point of the leaf of the *ficus religiosa*. What is the nature of the offering being carried on a tray by the two women? Are these to be considered as garlands again, or the three folded pieces of a monastic dress (*tri-cīvara*)?

5. *Detached Figure.*—The fairy of Pl. 27 is here shown from behind. This allows us to study the details of her hairdressing and costume, as on Pls. 30-33, etc. The tight folds of the *dhoti* are brought up behind between the legs and pass into the girdle. The veil covering the big plaits of hair, with tiers of heavy garlands over it, forms a sort of short cloak over the back.

BACK OF NORTHERN GATEWAY. WEST END OF LOWEST ARCHITRAVE WITH CAPITAL AND PANEL BELOW.

BACK OF NORTHERN GATEWAY EAST END OF UPPER AND MIDDLE ARCHITRAVES.

PLATE 32

BACK OF NORTHERN GATEWAY: EAST END

1. *Top Lintel.*—For the same reasons as on Pl. 30, the elephants are here passant to the right.

2. *Middle Lintel.*—Same pattern of peacocks, only that single flowers take here the place of the bunches of grapes, whilst a bignonia and another very much stylised tree have replaced the mango-tree.

3. *Dies.*—Above, the same archaic representation of the Nativity as on Pl. 30. Below, the last Great Miracle has taken the place of the first. As an exception, the two praying women, with basket and ewer placed before them, are kneeling in profile, performing the *añjali*, before the terrace of the stūpa, which they partly hide; usually the sculptor is careful that nothing shall stand between the spectator and the elevation of the sacred building.

4. *False-capitals.*—Exact reproduction of their companions on the west side. These decorative pieces give the impression of being the work of the same hand.

5. *Detached Figures.*—For details of the dress and ornaments of fairies seen from the back, *cf.* Pl. 31, 5. In both of them will be noticed the big ankle-ring which, on the one at the bottom supplements those which already cover the leg.

PLATE 33

BACK OF NORTHERN GATEWAY: EAST END

1. *Bottom Lintel.*—The tale of the *Viśvantara-jātaka* is taken up again at the point reached on the front of this same lintel-end (*cf.* Pl. 25, 1). Now we have gone beyond the still inhabited zone between the villages and the jungle. On the right, the prince, princess and children, still on foot, are resolutely entering the lonely forest—deserted except for lions, antelopes and a bird. On the left, they are calling a halt: they have placed their son and daughter at the foot of a mango-tree with some mangoes for food, and themselves are sitting on the rocks, refreshing themselves in the shadow of a neighbouring banyan tree. Below the children flows a small stream with lotuses.

2. *False-capital.*—*Cf.* Pl. 31.

3. *Capital.*—*Cf.* Pl. 25.

4. *Panel on back of East Pillar.*—*Parinirvāṇa-stūpa*, which, as companion (*cf.* Pl. 31, 4) to the *Sambodhi* of the Buddha Śākya-muni. most probably represents his Decease. For what reason has the sculptor, in defiance of all the habits of symmetry observed by this School, planted two praying figures at the left and four at the right, one of whom is a child? We are forced to conclude that in so doing he had to conform to his donors' wishes, and it is but a step further to admit that he has portrayed the donors themselves.

5. *Detached Figures.*—We see here the back of the *śālabhañjikā* of Pl. 25; but the decay of the stone has destroyed the bottom of her locks and garlands (*cf.* Pl. 31, 5).

BACK OF NORTHERN GATEWAY EAST END OF LOWEST ARCHITRAVE WITH CAPITAL AND PANEL BELOW.

a

b

c

EAST PILLAR OF NORTHERN GATEWAY *a* UPPER PANELS ON FRONT FACE *b* LOWER PANELS ON FRONT FACE

c WEST PILLAR OF NORTHERN GATEWAY UPPER PANELS ON FRONT FACE

PLATE 34

PILLARS OF NORTHERN GATEWAY

a. Front of East Pillar.—As we have said (p. 219) this facade is practically given up to the miraculous scenes which were enacted in the holy town of Śrāvastī. We shall take the reliefs in their order on the jamb, beginning at the top.

*a*1. *Great Prodigy at Śrāvastī: the sermon under the mango-tree.*—This is the form that the *mahā-pratihārya* has preserved on modern religious images, particularly in Siam. Here the miraculous mango-tree, weighed down with fruit, already comes to the fore under an umbrella over the throne of the invisible Buddha. In the four persons sitting on cushions in the foreground we must doubtless see King Prasenajit in the right-hand corner (left of the throne), his viceroy in the left-hand corner, and two courtiers in the middle, seen from the back. Do the four personages standing above them, whose feet can touch the ground, belong also to the nobility of the land of Kośala, or are they the four Guardian Kings of the World (*Lokapālas*)? The second hypothesis is the more likely, since above them we surely have to do with gods set in tiers in the heavens. We are at liberty to recognize Indra, with his viceroy on his right, in the first row of six, and above 'the gods of the pure abodes', with Brahmā at their head: but there is no deciding feature to guide us. The most curious detail to point out (which is found again in *c*1 and Pl. 35*a*3) is the two big drums floating in the air, on which two *devaputras* are beating with heavy clubs held in both hands, to announce the miracle to the whole universe. One need not suppose that the two winged spirits, with which the sculptor felt it indispensable to fill the top of his panel, were entrusted by him with the duty of supporting the two drums in the air: as usual, they are holding a tray of flowers in one hand and in the other a garland which should not be confused (though it may be easily mistaken on the plate) with a sort of hanging strap. Neither must we take the ornament placed on the necks of the two courtiers in the foreground for the knot of a necktie turned back to front; it is the profile of the enormous ear-rings which they wear in common with the other figures (*cf.* Pl. 35*a*2).

*a*2. *Gift of the Jetavana.*—It will be remembered that this relief has given us the key to the whole facade of the pillar, thanks to the square coins which are shown edge to edge on the ground and which have remained since Bharhut (Cunn., Pls. 28 and 57) and Bodh-Gayā (Cunn., *Mahābodhi*, Pl. 8, 8) the *lakshaṇa* or special sign of the donation of the Jetavana. The two praying figures who, in defiance of the laws of perspective, appear half-length in the middle of groves of mango-trees, bignonias and champakas, catching the attention by their giant stature, might be taken to be Anāthapiṇḍika the banker, purchaser and donor of the park, on the right, and on the left the former princely owner, Jeta, each with a companion placed below him. But then, what must be done with the two little praying figures in the foreground and the child sitting between them, unless we call them images of donors?[1] Sir John Marshall in his *Guide to Sāñchī* (p. 58) has already identified the three sanctuaries represented with "the three favourite residences of the Buddha, the *Gandhakuṭi*, the *Kosambakuṭi* and the *Karorikuṭi*", of which only the two first are shown and labelled at Bharhut. In front of each the fact that the Master sojourned there is indicated by the presence of his throne.

*a*3. *The Great Prodigy at Śrāvastī: the aerial walk.*—On p. 219 will be found the reasons for this identification and the comparison with Pl. 13 of Cunningham's *Stūpa of Bharhut*. For other representations of the *caṅkrama* or Master's 'walk', see above, Pl. 19*d*5, and below, Pls. 36, 50 and 51. Here it is placed under an open hall (*maṇḍapa*) of the same oblong shape, exactly as on Pl. 31, 4, at Bharhut, where the subject is identical. But since, in the foreground of the Bharhut relief, the pillars cut the broad flagstone at regular intervals—a thing our sculptor, sacrificing perspective to clarity in his design, has taken good care not do here—Cunningham took it for a representation, unique of its kind, of the "throne of the four Buddhas". The praying figures standing on the ground among the stylised trees below the aerial *caṅkrama*, if they belong to the legend at all, are again Prasenajit and his court; but what, once more (*cf.* *a*2), is to be done with the child?

*b*1. *Prasenajit's Visit.*—The context of the relief invited us above (p. 219) to recognize, in two tableaux, the king of Kośala, Prasenajit, coming out of Srāvastī, his capital, to betake himself to the site of the Great Prodigy,—a site which stood just half-way between the Jetavana (in *a*2) and the city, above the roofs of which we even seem to see the tip of the mango-tree of the miracle. We must not, however, hide from ourselves the fact that, for lack of a label, we here have no demonstrable proof of this identification. The sculptor has confined himself to reproducing mechanically the double stereotype of the 'city' and the 'royal procession'; the only slightly individual point is that the king and his viceroy are simply on horseback. Indeed, if one were to follow strictly the analogy of the inscribed relief at Bharhut (Cunn., Pl. 13, 3), where King Prasenajit is driving as usual in his chariot, the middle relief on the inside of this pillar (Pl. 35*b*2) would suit the case much better, since its position on the jamb corresponds exactly with that of the Jetavana, and the king would thus enter on a level into the park towards which he is going: nevertheless, after careful consideration, we keep to the reasons which decided us above to study the jamb face by face.

*b*2. But then, as four-fifths of the front of the East pillar in that case relate to Śrāvastī, a logical mind could only see in the bottom panel a worldly aspect of the Jetavana, before its donation to the Buddhist Community, in the days when Prince Jeta and his friends frolicked there with their wives like the thirty "jolly fellows" (*bhadra-vargīya*), of whom a well-known legend of Benares tells us. The hypothesis is tempting and, after all, possible; though the analogies enumerated above (pp. 228-9) all tend to class this panel among the 'pictures of paradise', we have never denied our inability to determine whether several of these paradises are earthly or heavenly. Yet nothing guarantees that this 'genre' scene is anything but a stop-gap here; and, besides, the uneven character of the landscape, with its rocks and little waterfalls, suggests rather the Himālaya, the genii's abode, than the rice flats amid which Śrāvastī stood. Supernatural or otherwise, the person in the top left-hand corner is having a cold drink, for he has a cup in his right hand. To the right, his counterpart is holding a harp in his left hand and apparently teasing his companion with his right, while she is bathing her feet in a rocky basin, where the water from the waterfall is held a moment before dashing into the lotus pool. Again, it is coolness that the elephant-riders and their companions are seeking in this pool, while their elephants are seizing the moment to feed (*cf.* Pls. 12*b*; 79, no. 27*a*; 101 and 102, 3). A peacock and a mango-tree, which has somehow managed to grow in the rock, complete the landscape.

c. Front of West Pillar.—The composition of the plates brings us now to the panels decorating the facade of the opposite (West) jamb. Perhaps the reader would do well to refer at once to the description of the inner facade of the East jamb (Pl. 35*b*) before entering on that of the West jamb.

The upper panel represents the *Deva-avatāra* at Śaṅkāśya; above (p. 221) will be found the details of identification and comparison with the three Bharhut panels (Cunn., Pl. 17). It may be added that the trees shading the thrones are two *ficus*, and that the lower one is set between a champaka (left) and a mango-tree (right); that we have no triple ladder here as at Bharhut, but an attempt at showing in perspective a single staircase edged with two rails, one of which can clearly be seen; that it is impossible to distinguish the one who was the Buddha's mother among the 'Thirty-three' gods to whom he is preaching his doctrine; that we may identify Indra at the left (of the spectator) and Brahmā at the right, once or more represented on each side of the celestial tree, throne and staircase; that the god who is so awkwardly raising his right arm has no other purpose than to let his scarf float in the wind as we wave our handkerchiefs, and that instead of whistling at the same time, as at Bharhut, through the fingers of his left hand, he is holding in them a flower—doubtless of paradise; that, above, two *devas* are beating a drum; and that below on either side of the earthly throne we again find children beside the worshippers (donors?), etc.[2]

The rest of the facade of the West pillar is described opposite Pl. 35*a*.

[1] The disproportionately large size of the figures in the background suggests that, as in Pl. 34*c*, they may be intended for heavenly beings. See Part II, pp. 109-10.

[2] Observe, here, the distinction in size between the heavenly and earthly figures as in *a*2 above.

PLATE 35

PILLARS OF NORTHERN GATEWAY—continued

a. Front of West Pillar.—For the top panel of the facade of the West jamb, see Pl. 34c.

*a*1. The middle panel reproduces once more the cliché of the city and the royal procession, but this time with the peculiarities which helped us above to divine their double or even triple meaning (p. 203); for it suggests at once no less than three episodes: (1) by the chariot without its principal occupant, the four 'Drives'; (2) by the horse without a rider, the 'Great Departure'; (3) and by the onlookers, all the townswomen whose hearts, as it is written, the charming but invisible Bodhisattva draws after him. One may note that the bearer of the sandals has not been forgotten among the people in the retinue, but that the umbrella-bearer, shown on the chariot, has not been repeated near the horse Kaṇṭhaka; in accordance with the practice of the School, Chandaka is holding the ewer.

*a*2. We shall not be surprised that the next panel brings us back, after a long interval, to Kapilavastu and shows us in its own manner the "perfectly accomplished Buddha" returned to his native town and in the act of preaching his doctrine in the *Nyagrodha-ārāma* (*cf.* p. 205). The central tree alone would not be enough to settle the identification of the scene (*cf.* p. 205, note 1); what finally determines it for us is the aristocratic character and particularly the reverent attitude of the numerous audience. It is clear that all these great personages, sitting Indian-fashion on cushions, are listening most devoutly to a homily. We may add that the upper picture (*a*1) and the side picture (Pl. 36c3) likewise take place at Kapilavastu, and that the latter shows us already, under the same *nyagrodha*, the same throne from the top of which the Blessed One is here supposed to be preaching to the assembly of Śākya nobles, with his father Suddhodana at their head. But, you may say, which is Suddhodana? Guess if you can, and choose if you dare, amidst this crowd of stereotyped personages, the one who in the sculptor's mind was the *primus inter pares*.

*a*3. It is probable that the base of the jamb was composed, before its mutilation, of two other scenes: and it is certain that the next one represented again a Great Miracle: for proof we have the big drum (*dundubhi*), which has been preserved at the top together with its drumstick, beside the two winged spirits bearing garlands. We may find consolation in the fact that we shall never know any more about the lost panel by studying the arrangement of the criss-cross thongs which serve to tie the skin on to the case of this 'tom-tom'.

b. Inner face of East Pillar.—We now come back to the inner face of the East jamb, whose facade has been seen and described on Pl. 34*a* and *b*. It consists of three panels only, corresponding in size to the three upper tableaux of Śrāvastī: but it certainly seems as if it is taking us away from the land of Kośala to that of Magadha.

*b*1. *Indra's Visit.*—The fact is, indeed, certain for the top panel (*cf.* p. 218-19 and Cunn., *Stūpa of Bharhut*, Pl. 28, 4, etc.). Here the cave is a semi-artificial hypogeum. Are we to see Indra twice, first in the principal personage (to judge by his size and the shape of his turban) in the foreground, then, in the background, in the 'king' who is looking towards the Buddha and turning his back on the spectator? The Rajputs of India still affect the enormous turbans shown here. The sort of mountain-goats or rams with manes and human faces, which are seen on the right in a cleft in the rocks, are found again, as are the lions on the left, on the Eastern Gateway (Pl. 46, 2).

*b*2. We come again on that hardworked cliché of the city and royal procession; and this time it seems vain to seek information about the town and the king anywhere but in the context of the jamb. But we must choose between two possible ways of reading it. If we read horizontally (as we are expected to do on the Southern Gateway, Pl. 18), the monarch, with music before him, is coming in his chariot right to the Jetavana, and consequently we should have to take him for Prasenajit leaving his goodly town of Śrāvastī. But then we should not know what to do with the royal procession already seen on the facade of the jamb (Pl. 34*b*1), which the other pictures connected with Śrāvastī. We have therefore decided to read vertically; and as the upper tableau on the inner face (*b*1) takes place in Magadha and the lower tableau (*b*3) does the same, we have voted for 'Rājagṛiha' or even for 'Ajātaśatru leaving his capital' (*cf.* p. 218). Yet one would have expected him to be accompanied by the women, who are in fact surrounding him on panel *b*3. On the other hand, it cannot be denied that 'Bimbisāra's Visit' on the Eastern Gateway (*cf.* p. 217 and Pl. 51*b*2), if we leave aside the top left-hand corner, bears a striking resemblance to our Pl. 35*b*2; and as we shall find in *b*3 both the bamboos of the Veṇuvana which Bimbisāra presented to the Master and the mango-trees of the Park of Jīvaka where Ajātaśatru, Bimbisāra's patricide heir, went to seek relief for his remorse, it may be questioned which of the two, father or son, is portrayed on *b*2. Amidst all these perplexities we should not forget to notice a detail not found hitherto, *viz.*, the mirror held in the right hand of the queen, who appears on the balcony on the left between her two attendants (*cf.* Pl. 64c1).

*b*3. For the identification of the scene, *cf.* p. 218. One may state *de visu* that the usual dress of fairies (*cf.* Pl. 31, 5) is exactly the same, back and front, as that of the court ladies. Whatever the implication intended by the presence of bamboos, they are very clear, from the knots on the stalks to the curving plumes of the foliage.

A

WEST PILLAR OF NORTHERN GATEWAY.

B

EAST PILLAR OF NORTHERN GATEWAY.

EAST PILLAR OF NORTHERN GATEWAY. LOWEST PANEL ON INNER FACE

b

WEST PILLAR OF NORTHERN GATEWAY
LOWEST PANEL ON INNER FACE

c

WEST PILLAR OF NORTHERN GATEWAY:
UPPER PANELS ON INNER FACE

PLATE 36

PILLARS OF NORTHERN GATEWAY—continued

a-b. The composition of the plates has again involved the combination of two jambs; there was moreover an obvious advantage in bringing together the two *dvāra-pāla* genii (*cf*. p. 243) who face each other. Their place on the Northern Gateway permits us to dub them Yakshas with a clear conscience, but no characteristic attribute distinguishes them, any more than the 'Kuvera' at Bharhut (Cunn., Pl. 22, 1). The one on the east pillar has shaken off the 'law of frontality', which still sets the one on the West at 'shoulder arms', so to speak. He has picked a bignonia flower from the tree on his right, whose companion-tree is a mango. The one on the west side having no trees, has had to fill in the space left on both sides of his head by necklaces hanging from *nāga-dantas*; he is holding a bunch of *utpalas* in his right hand. Moreover their clothes, headdress and jewels are, with few variants, the same. The turban, trimmed with a sort of embroidered topknot and held on by fillets, conceals the hair; the *dhotī* drapes the lower limbs, fastened round the waist by a sash whose ends fall in front, whilst the *uttarīya* (shawl or scarf) passes, as here, over the arms or, as elsewhere (Pls. 50 and 52), is carelessly tied round the loins. Notice how the fall of its pleats is stylised. Heavy rings hang from the distended ears, and a broad necklace droops over the chest, fastened on the left shoulder with a big stud passing through a loop; the fore-arms are covered with bracelets, but male persons never wear rings on their legs.

c. These three panels belong to the inner side of the west pillar, whose facade was studied on Pls. 34c and 35*a*.

c1. Just as the representation of the second Great Miracle on Pl. 29, 2, was reinforced by the episodes of Sujātā's offering and Māra's Temptation, so here, that of the fourth Great Miracle is relieved by the picturesque scene of the feast celebrated by the Mallas of Kuśinagara in honour of their share of the Buddha's relics. The stūpa in which they were deposited has no less than two terraces and three railings, the outermost of which is adorned with a *toraṇa* with double lintel. In the air, as many as four *kinnaras* are paying it worship with garlands; as for the human worshippers, they are going round it in procession at a sort of dance step, a few inside but the greater number outside the first balustrade. Some are clasping their hands, one is waving a standard, others are bringing offerings of flowers, while in the foreground thunders an orchestra consisting of a harp, a kettle-drum, two sorts of tambourine (cylindrical and ovoid), a double flute and two curved trumpets, whose mouths are shaped like serpents' heads. Women are severely excluded. Notice the curly hair, tied with a band, and the caps, sometimes round and sometimes pointed; the sleeved tunics bound with a girdle; the little flowing cloaks on the back, knotted under the chin like a chlamys; and finally the sandals and leggings. It is evident that the clan of the Mallas in the eyes of the sculptors of Central India passed for "northerners", otherwise they would not have equipped them thus; perhaps, too, (who knows?) they wanted to flatter the vanity of the pilgrims who were beginning to flock in from the recently converted regions of the North-West by showing them their kinsmen busy celebrating the Master's funeral. *Cf*. also Pt. II, pp. 124 and 157, n. 1, for the drawing of the stūpa and the dress of these figures.

c2. *The Monkey's Offering at Vaiśālī*.—For identification, see p. 219. The tree on the right forming the companion to the Buddha's *aśvattha* is a bignonia: the middle one we have not been able to identify. The monkey is a *langur* (Skt. *go-laṅgula*=ox-tailed). Should the praying figures be connected with the legend or are they the donors? Observe that the follower in the background, whose hair-dressing betrays her subordinate position, is holding garlands on a tray. The representation of the two *upāsikās* and the child kneeling before the throne deserves notice (*cf*. Pl. 32, 3).

c3. *The Return to Kapilavastu*.—The identification seems certain and also the contamination of the two episodes nos. 7*a* and 7*b* (*cf*. p. 204). Behind King Suddhodana one can see women carrying the umbrella and fly-whisk, a third woman attendant and the heads of two courtiers. Above, one of the three supernatural worshippers, unlike the usual *kinnara*, seems to be a plain *Devaputra* or *Yakṣha* in human shape, riding a winged lion: we find this rarer type in Pls. 49c and 64*a*2. For the *caṅkrama*, compare Pls. 19c, 34*a*, 50*a* and 51*a* and *b*.

PLATE 37

PILLARS OF NORTHERN GATEWAY—concluded

This plate unites the reproductions of the two richly decorative designs which cover the outer section of the west and east jambs; the reader should compare them with those on Pls. 19, 50 and 66. In both, the central band is made of palmettes combined with lotuses, and we have already had occasion to see this motif as the origin of the "bouquet issuing from the vase" (*cf.* Pl. 28). A glance at the bottom of *b*, where the lotus is transformed into a *bhadra-ghaṭa*, cannot but help to confirm this impression.

a. We have already (pp. 144-45 and 248-49) discussed the meaning of this curious composition[1]; a detailed description of each motif would take us much too far. Notice only, in the floral pattern, that on the *nandipada* or *taurine* the lotuses give place to the vine; and that among the necklaces of beads and jewellery so variously arranged, which are hung from *nāga-dantas*, two are made of a string of amulets (rosette of lotus, axe-head, elephant-goad, shield, palmette, pair of fish, bunch of grapes (?), barred triangle, etc.), the interpretation of which is still in a large measure obscure.[2] One may compare the sacred feet with those shown on Pl. 40, 2. It is probably to this composition or to the pillar on which it is carved, that Inscr. 17*b* (p. 301) refers as the *Bhagavato pamāṇa-laṭhi*, i.e., 'height-measuring staff' of the Blessed One.

b. The carving on the west jamb does not make the same claim to iconographical importance and seems resigned to its purely decorative role;[1] but it makes up in the details. On the two borders and two intermediate bands are displayed lotus creepers, issuing either from a *bhadra-ghaṭa* or from the mouth of a *makara*-elephant, with or without *haṁsas* on their scrolls. With the *palmettes* on the central band are mingled male or female figures holding a sword in one hand and with the other raising what, by force of habit, one would take for a tray of offerings, but which seems to be a sort of small parade-buckler which was used in the kind of war-dance which Indian fencing still remains. We owe its identification to the fact that on the left, at the bottom, one of the figures has chanced to lower this object, and we see it full-face. We perceive a rectangular tablet edged below with a fringe of tassels (or perhaps bells?) and surmounted by three crests. Henceforth the optical illusion which made us think that we were looking at the profile of a cylindrical or cubical object behind whose rim the bearer's hand disappeared, is dispelled. This is indeed nothing but a flat oblong *buckler* fitted with an inner handle, which we see on a larger scale on Pls. 100-102. This defensive weapon was normally held in the left hand; but (except in the bottom motif on Pl. 37*b*) the sculptor of the Northern Gateway makes it change hands for the sake of symmetry, thus transforming two of his male and one of his female fencers on the left column into so many left-handers.[3]

[1] For the meaning of these compositions, see also Pt. II, pp. 142-144.

[2] For details of these amulets, *cf.* Maisey, *op. cit.*, Pl. xxxix, figs. 15 and 16.

[3] After repeated examinations of these figures and of those on the gateway of Stūpa 3 (Pls. 100-102) I must confess that I still remain unconvinced that the object held by these Yakshas and Yakshīs of the Lotus Tree is a buckler. It does not seem to be held as a shield should be: nor is it clear why a shield should have a fringe of tassels or bells or three crests in front of it. My personal view, as stated on p. 145 (with footnote 2), is that the objects in question are trays of lotus buds.—J. M.

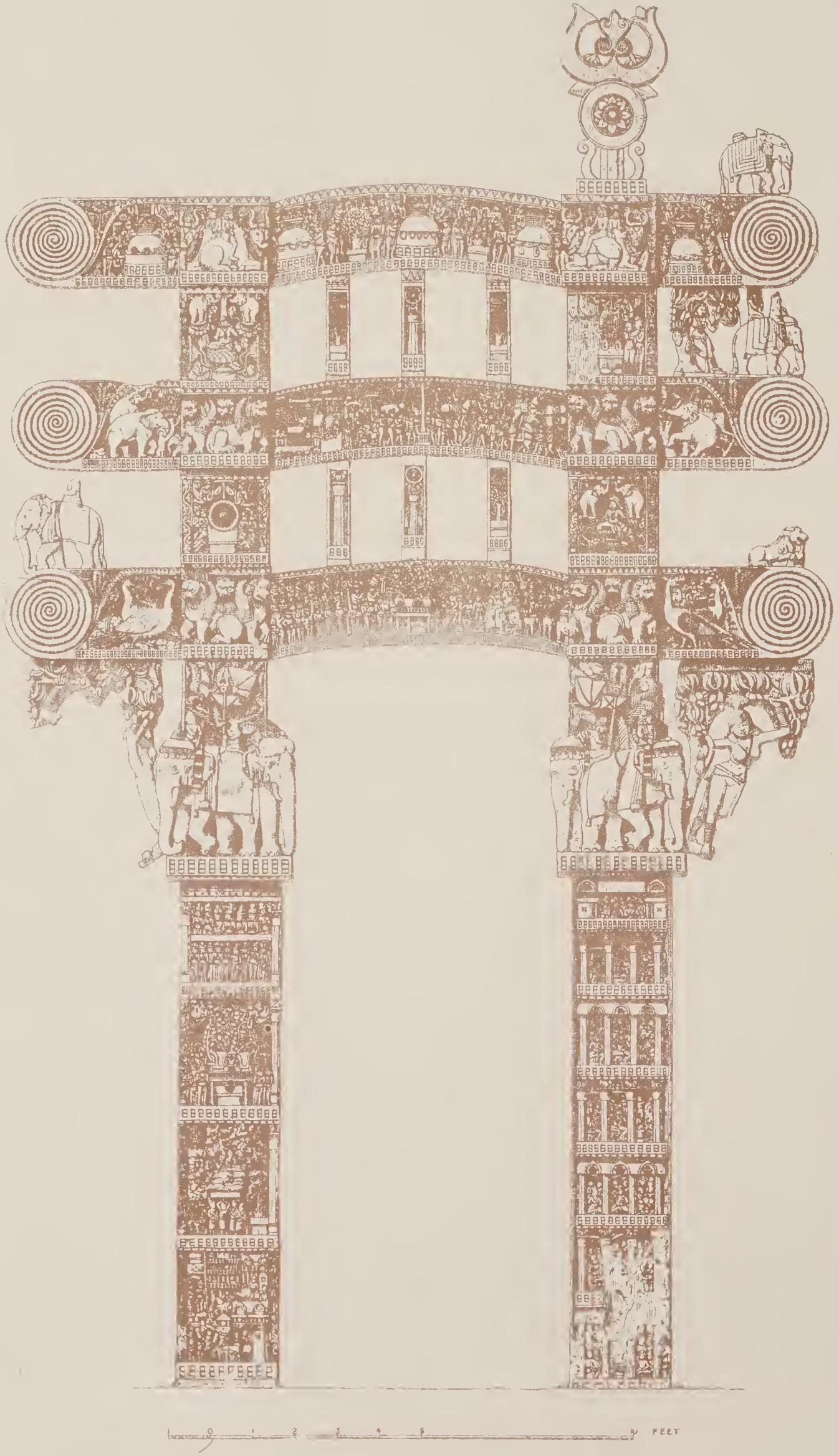
a

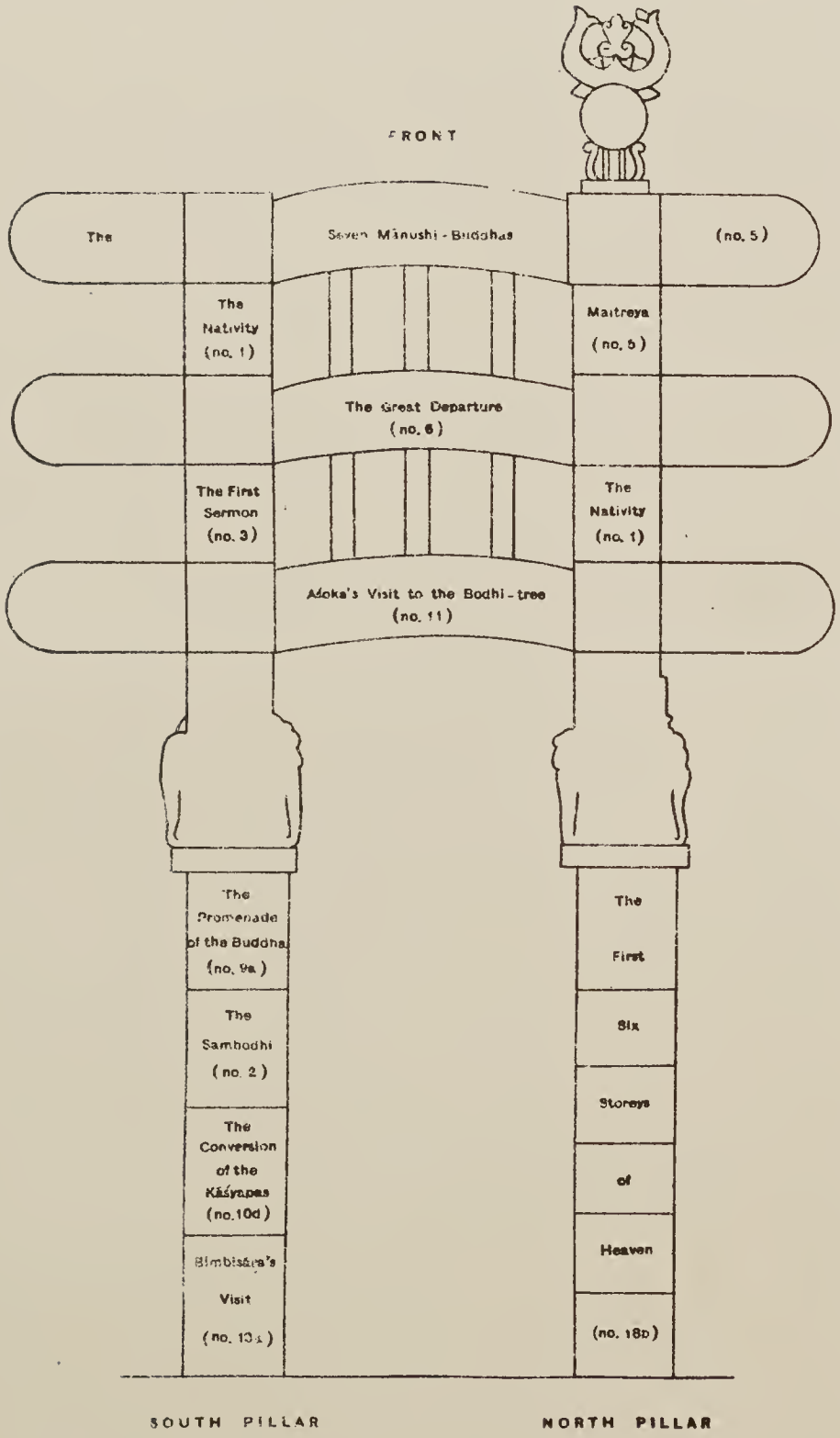
b

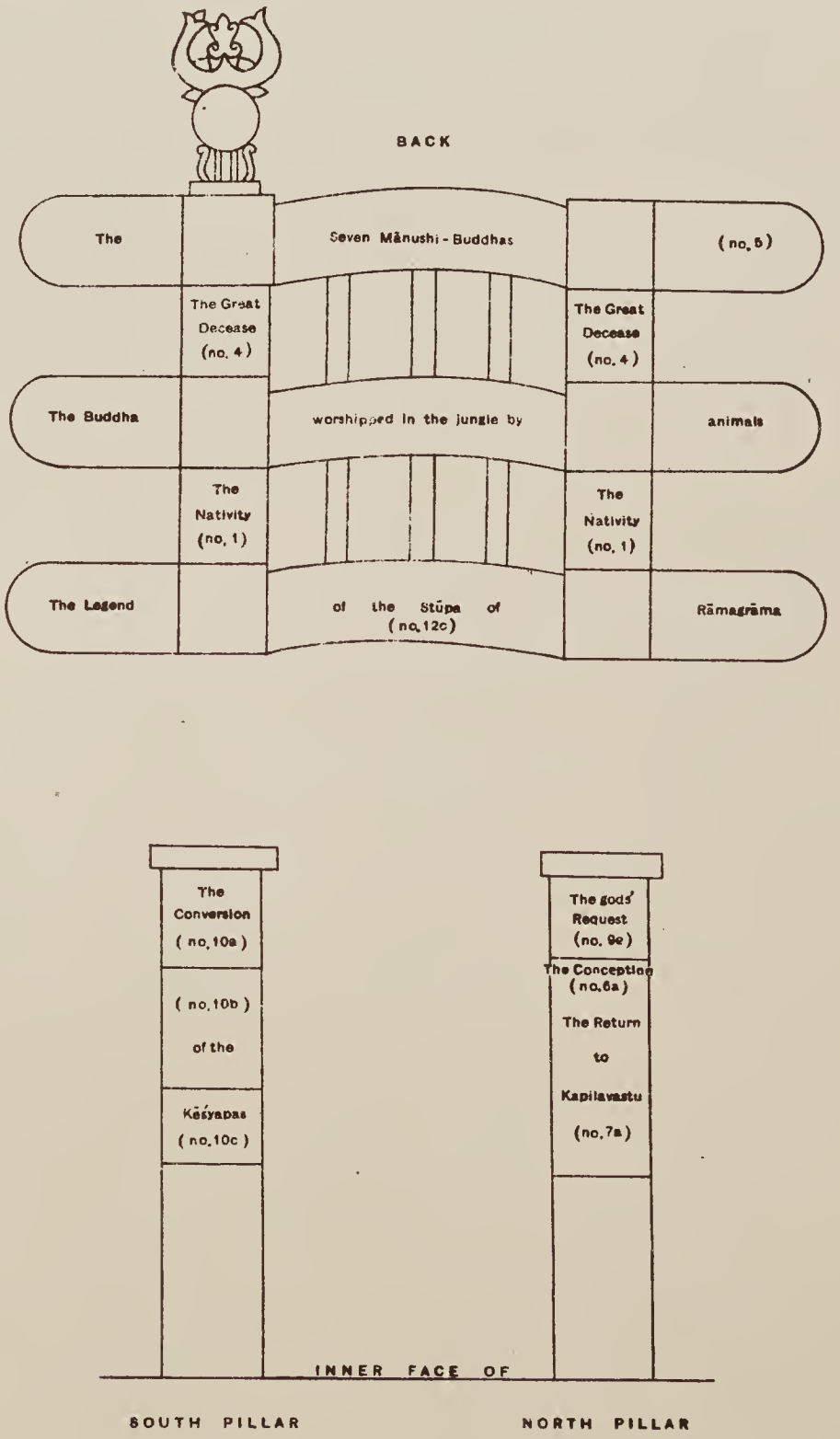
(*a*) EAST PILLAR OF NORTHERN GATEWAY : EAST FACE

(*b*) WEST PILLAR OF NORTHERN GATEWAY : WEST FACE

THE MONUMENTS OF SANCHI STUPA I




FRONT
The
Seven Mānushi-Buddhas
(no. 5)
The Nativity (no. 1)
Maitreya (no. 5)
The Great Departure (no. 6)
The First Sermon (no. 3)
The Nativity (no. 1)
Aśoka's Visit to the Bodhi-tree (no. 11)
The Promenade of the Buddha (no. 9a)
The Sambodhi (no. 2)
The Conversion of the Kāśyapas (no. 10d)
Bimbisāra's Visit (no. 13a)
The First Six Storeys of Heaven (no. 18b)
SOUTH PILLAR
NORTH PILLAR



EASTERN GATEWAY : INDEX-MAP OF THE LEGENDARY SCENES

Rso. No. 3936 E'36-585.

Helio. S. I. O. Calcutta.

PLATE 39

FRONT OF EASTERN GATEWAY

Like the Northern Gateway, the Eastern has been preserved in its original position; but, less fortunate than its neighbour and predecessor, it has lost the left-hand *śālabhañjikā* and the majority of the subsidiary figures, the only ones left being one of the two *triratnas* on the top, one *yakshī* and three elephants[1]. The motifs on the capitals and false-capitals are about the same, but are here treated with greater ease and freedom. The lower part of the right-hand jamb has likewise been slightly damaged.

The decoration as a whole has been described on p. 235 (*cf.* the drawing opposite Pl. 38) and the details will be dealt with below. Here, it will be sufficient to indicate briefly for the reader's convenience the meaning of the scenes before him.

On the top lintel are carved the seven last Buddhas of the past; on the middle lintel the "Great Departure" from Kapilavastu; on the bottom lintel, Aśoka's Visit to the Bodhi-tree (*cf.* Pl. 40). The projecting ends of the two latter lintels seem to be given up to purely decorative themes, which have nothing to do with the subjects on the central part.

The four dies represent two Nativities, a First Sermon, and, to complete the series carved on the top lintel, Maitreya the future Buddha (*cf.* Pls. 41-44).

On the six uprights we have, again, three Bodhi-trees and three First Sermons—though on one of the three columns (below, at the left) the wheel which ought to surmount the lion-capital is omitted. Of the three trees, one (above, at the right), belonging to the mango species, should perhaps relate to Śikhin (but *cf.* Pls. 16, 4; 22, 2 and 46, 1); the other two certainly stand for the Enlightenment (above, at the left) of Vipaśyin, and (below, at the right) of Śākya-muni. It may be remarked in passing that the bignonia and the ficus of these last two Buddhas are repetitions of the two trees figured on the top lintel, and consequently do not attempt, as might have been expected, to complete on the facade the list of the seven Bodhi-trees as they are seen lined up on the back of the same top lintel (*cf.* Pl. 45).

The south pillar (left of the spectator; *cf.* Pls. 51-52) is devoted to the Magadha cycle. On the four panels of the front may be seen, from top to bottom, the Buddha's Walk after the *Sambodhi*, the *Sambodhi* itself, the miracle of the flood which unsealed the eyes of the three Kāśyapa brothers, and Bimbisāra's Visit. On the inner face, above the head of a Yaksha door-keeper, are three other panels relating to the arduous conversion of the Kāśyapas.

The north pillar (right of the spectator; *cf.* Pls. 49-50) shows the first six storeys of the world of the gods on its facade, and a lotus decoration on the outer side.

A human figure shows the scale. Through the embrasure of the balustrade one catches a glimpse of half the stele reproduced on Pl. 70*b*. On the left, the ends of the lintels of the Southern Gateway can be seen jutting out.

[1] The diminutive lion on the north end of the lowest architrave does not belong there.

FRONT FACE OF EASTERN GATEWAY

FRONT OF EASTERN GATEWAY MIDDLE SECTION OF ARCHITRAVES

PLATE 40

FRONT OF EASTERN GATEWAY: MIDDLE SECTION

1. *Top Lintel.*—The series of the seven Mānushi-Buddhas (*cf.* p. 200) is distributed over the whole length of this lintel, represented alternately by their funeral tumulus and the tree of their enlightenment, surrounded as usual (except that none of these is female) by a gathering of praying figures, human or supernatural. The middle part here shown bears only five of these representations, namely three *stūpas* and two *bodhi-drumas*. We can discern no difference between the *stūpas*, but we can immediately recognize the tree of Śākya-muni at the left, and that of Vipaśyin at the right. This proves that the artists' fancy did not always bind himself to follow the traditional order. Having only two trees at his disposal, the sculptor preferred to give the honours of his lintel to those of the first and last Buddhas of the series (*cf.* Pl. 45, and, for the trees decorating the uprights, Pl. 39).

2. *Middle Lintel.*—For the identification of the legend of the *Mahābhinishkramaṇa* or "Great Departure from the House", see p. 203. Note here the curious architecture of Kapilavastu, the loggias of its airy houses, the towers, battlements and gates of its walls. The inhabitants are supposed to be taking the air on their balconies or going about the streets either on foot or on elephants. A postern in the ramparts opens on to the moat, transformed into a lotus pool, where women are coming to draw water. In the retinue which accompanies the Bodhisattva's flight the gods who are not carrying the horse's hoofs are scattering flowers with their right hands, taking them in handfuls from the trays supported by their left, or waving their scarves for joy, or beating celestial drums; but, better bred than those at Bharhut (*cf.* Cunn., Pls. 13, 1, and 17, 3), not one of them is seen with his thumb and forefinger in his mouth, giving vent to a whistle of admiration. The rich and cleverly made trappings of the horse, from the headstall to the crupper, including the embroidered carpet which serves for saddle and is held in place by a girth, are worthy of notice. We may also observe the constancy with which the umbrella and fly-whisk—not to speak of the ewer and sandals—accompany the horse Kaṇṭhaka at each stage, and end by hanging miraculously in the air above the sacred footprints, to signify the invisible presence of the Bodhisattva. The soles of the feet are of course marked with the traditional sign of the wheel. As for the tree, shaded by an umbrella and surrounded by a railing, which stands in the middle of the composition and suggests the "First Meditation", its species is made certain (as we have remarked, p. 202) by comparison with an inscribed bas-relief at Bharhut representing a *jambu*. One appreciates the skill with which the sculptor has managed to distribute at the foot of the tree, so as to frame it in its requisite group of worshippers, three persons who nevertheless continue to join in the principal action, namely: left, the bearer of the sandals; in the background, the ewer-bearer; and on the right, one of the gods throwing flowers. That the four-fold repetition of the horse 'going out' may be meant to remind us of the 'Four Drives', we have already hinted (p. 202) and are inclined to believe it.

3. *Bottom Lintel.*—The facts justifying the identification have been given on p. 212 *seq.* We notice the modesty of Aśoka's headdress, adorned with a simple tuft and much less gorgeous than the usual royal turban. His retinue has its full complement: first Queen Tishyarakshitā, shown twice like the king himself; then the female attendants, two of whom, of course, are carrying the umbrella and fly-whisk; above, a band of flutes, conches and drums; on the right, the guard which would have included the "four corps of troops" if the sculptor had not left out the cavalry; but at any rate he has contrived to show us, besides some infantry armed with swords, spears and bows, a war-chariot and an elephant, both drawn full face and boldly foreshortened. The civilian procession which is arriving from the other side of the Bodhi-tree of Śākya-muni (*cf.* Pl. 51*a*) also includes a band on the left, which in addition to the instruments we have just named includes hand-tabours and a long trumpet. The principals of the procession file past, ceremoniously holding either huge lotus flowers in their hands, or banners whose staves, surmounted by a *triratna* or a wheel, are decorated with heavy garlands (only on the right has the sculptor found room to draw the banner of the standard; *cf.* Pls. 42 and 44). The chief parts are obviously played by the four personages who are advancing in the foreground, carrying in front of their chests pitchers "full of scented water" for watering the sacred tree. Are the person of short stature on whom the king is leaning as he dismounts from his kneeling elephant, and those standing under the galleries of the hypæthral temple, simply court dwarfs, or specimens of those genii (*yakshas*) which the legend ascribes to Aśoka as servants? And ought we to see in the presence of the children, with whom, on the left of the *bodhi-druma*, the sculptor has filled up the gaps in his composition, a proof that the donors of the panels had themselves represented with their families?

For the description of the uprights, see Pl. 39.

PLATE 41

FRONT OF EASTERN GATEWAY: SOUTH END

1. *Top Lintel.*—The stūpa represented belongs to the series of the seven last Buddhas of the past (*cf.* Pl. 40). It is surmounted by no fewer than five umbrellas and two streamers. Three lotuses, seen from the front, indicate a rain of flowers. One of the two female figures holds a tray and the donation-ewer.

2. *Middle Lintel.*—The subject is completely independent of the one shown between the jambs, and in our opinion has no historical or legendary pretensions. Probably it is merely a commonplace of Indian art (*cf.* Pls. 43, 82, 85, 102, etc.) and literature (*cf. Mahāvagga* X, 4, 6-7); some wild elephants are tearing up a mango-tree. Below, left, a conventional indication of rocks.

3. *Die.*—We have here an already advanced form (*cf.* pp. 183 and 197) of the Nativity theme; for Māyā, holding a lotus in her right hand, is seated on a lotus sprouting out of a vase and apparently being given a shower-bath by the two *Nāgas*. In this piece we may relish the happily balanced combination of supple grace and hieratical symmetry (*cf.* Pl. 44 and Part II, pp. 130-1).

4. *Top False-capital.*—Notice the hump, the lyre-shaped horns, the heavy collars and the rope passed through the nostrils of the two Indian oxen, back to back like the bulls on the Persian capitals (*cf.* Pl. 16). The two riders, each holding a lotus, are of the ordinary Indian type.

5. *Middle False-capital.*—Between two winged lions back to back, somewhat Iranian in style, a third lion is thrusting his head and fore-paws. The only tail visible is wound round the hind leg of the lion in foreground.

6. *Detached Figures.*—On the top lintel will be seen a fragment of an elephant's hoofs and above the bottom lintel another elephant with traces of two figures who were riding on it.

FRONT OF EASTERN GATEWAY SOUTH END OF UPPER AND MIDDLE ARCHITRAVES

FRONT OF PAVILION, GALLERY AND END OF LOWEST ARCHITRAVE WITH CAPITAL

PLATE 42

FRONT OF EASTERN GATEWAY: SOUTH END—concluded

1. *Bottom Lintel.*—Against a conventional background of rocks, where two trees are growing (a bignonia and a mango), two peacocks (Pāli: *mora*) are shown in profile. It must be acknowledged that Prof. A. Grünwedel's ingenious hypothesis alluded to above (p. 231), which takes these heraldically treated birds to be the canting arms of the Maurya dynasty, receives some support from the fact that the middle part of this lintel is devoted to an episode from the legend of the Maurya king Aśoka (but *cf.* Pls. 13 and 28).

2. *Die.*—Another wholly schematic representation of the third Great Miracle, the First Sermon (*cf.* p. 198). It is not clear why the sculptor has given the wheel thirty-four spokes. Four men are standing, and in the foreground two women are squatting over the two baskets of offerings which they have brought; all of them worship with clasped hands.

3. *False-capital.*—The same trio of Perso-Assyrian lions as on Pl. 41.

4. *Capital.*—The four elephants, admirably treated, instead of showing only their forequarters as on the Northern Gateway, are shown in profile on four sides in turn, but in so skilful a manner that their heads nevertheless accentuate all four corners of the pillar. We can thus see clearly (*cf.* Pl. 44) every detail of their trappings: caparison girthed with a rope, head-gear with heavy pendants, round bells, etc. Above all we realise perfectly that the elephant's master is sitting in the best place, astride on the neck, with the *aṅkuśa* in his hand; we know that the art of riding an elephant formed part of the education of the sons of good families. Behind him, most insecurely balanced, on the beast's sloping back, the standard-bearer is clinging as best he can. Except for the garlands, the standard is exactly like two of those which we have already seen on the bottom lintel (Pl. 40). For further remarks on this and the corresponding capital at the north end, see Part II, pp. 139-40.

5. *Detached Figures.*—To complete the image of the detached elephant on the projecting end of the lintel, refer to Pl. 41. There is hardly anything left of the fairy on the bracket except fragments of her two feet (*cf.* Pl. 47), two fore-arms covered with bangles and the top of her hair; but for the posture, see Pl. 44.

PLATE 43

FRONT OF EASTERN GATEWAY: NORTH END

1. *Top Lintel.*—The subject is identical with the one which decorates the other end of the lintel (Pl. 41), but the worshipper on the right, and perhaps the one on the left, is followed by a boy (donor and son?). Notice the two offerings' baskets, one inside the other, placed on the ground at the bottom on the right.

2. *Middle Lintel.*—The same remark applies to this panel as to the corresponding one on Pl. 41, 2, and we do not believe that any allusion to the *Shaḍḍanta-jātaka* (no. 17*a*) is intended here. Observe, in the background, the pair with curious head-dresses; they are dwellers in the jungle. The woman is holding a bow in her left hand and the man a sheaf of arrows in his right, whilst apparently holding back his wife with his left hand from the dangerous gambols of the two elephants. A bird remains fearlessly perched on the mango-tree, though in the top left-hand corner a monkey is hurrying away. While coming over from one end of the lintel to the other, this 'genre' piece has been enriched with picturesque details (*cf.* Pl. 44, 1).

3. *Die.*—Once again we find, unfortunately damaged, the usual picture of a *Sambodhi* with its ordinary train of worshippers and even, as witnessed by the two ewers in the foreground, donors; but the starry blossoms of the champaka (*nāga-pushpa*) indicate Maitreya. The symbol of the man who is to be the next and eighth Buddha of our æon is evidently intended to complete the series, shown on the top lintel, of the seven who went before him.

4. *False-Capitals.*—The themes on both are the same as their companions on Pl. 41. Only at the top we can see more of the rope which encircled the shoulders and held up the tail of the ox (*cf.* Pl. 16, 6).

5. *Detached Figures.*—The *triratna* standing above the top false-capital, the fairy or Yakshī with the mango-tree and the two mounted elephants (the top one mutilated) are remains of a decorative scheme similar to that on the Northern Gateway, except that the lions have been replaced by elephants. For a description of the latter, the reader is referred to Pls. 42, 4 and 48, 6.

FRONT OF EASTERN GATEWAY NORTH END OF THE OUTER MIDDLE ARCHITRAVE WITH

FRONT [illegible] NORTH END OF LOWEST

PLATE 44

FRONT OF EASTERN GATEWAY: NORTH END—concluded

1. *Bottom Lintel.*—Here again, as on the north end of the middle lintel (*cf.* Pl. 43), we get the impression that the sculptor began his work at the south end and has merely repeated the same theme on the right, embellishing it. Framed between the backward-turned heads of the two peacocks we now observe, in the same rocky landscape as before, a small 'genre' piece (*cf.* pp. 228-9): a genie and his fairy, lovingly embracing, are sitting on the bank of a stream, to which the woman is turning to draw water with a goblet. As supernatural beings, the pair of lovers have nothing to fear from the neighbouring lion or panther, which, moreover, is looking another way (*cf.* Pls. 13, 2, and 19, 1).

2. *Die.*—The Great Miracle of the Nativity is exactly like the one seen on Pl. 41, but much less successful.

3. *The False-Capital* and the *Capital* may be considered as already described on Pl. 42.

4. *Detached Figures.*—In place of the tiny and disproportionate lion on the top of the volute, we must visualize an elephant like those on Pls. 42 and 43. The lion must have been put there at some time after the elephant had fallen. This time the decorative bracket has been preserved complete. Holding with both hands to the arching bough of a mango-tree, the *śālabhañjikā* (*cf.* p. 232) "curves the woodbine of her body" in an attitude which brings out her breasts "like urns of gold". Her locks, spread out over her back (*cf.* Pl. 48), are brought up on the crown of her head into a curious topknot which may be compared to the coiffure of the female servants and jungle-dwellers (*cf.* Pls. 40, 3, and 47, 5). Her transparent *dhotī* is only betrayed by the pleated folds falling at the sides and drawn up at the back between the legs. Her big ear-rings are broken, but the bangles which load her fore-arms almost up to the elbow and her legs almost to the knees, her bead necklace and her girdle of trinkets lend themselves to detailed study. The type presents a pleasing compromise between the court lady and the woman of the woods. (See also pp. 129-30.)

PLATE 45

BACK OF EASTERN GATEWAY

For general description, see pp. 235-6 and *cf.* the drawing opposite Pl. 38.

It will be noticed that the same subject extends over the whole surface in each of the three lintels. Above, each of the seven last Buddhas of the past is represented by the particular tree of his Enlightenment; in the middle, the Buddha Śākya-muni is being worshipped by the jungle animals; below, some elephants are paying homage to a stūpa, which must be that of Rāmagrāma (*cf.* Pl. 46).

The four dies (*cf.* Pls. 47 and 48) are given up to two symbolical representations of the first and last Great Miracles—the last Nativity and the last Decease. One could, if necessary, advance the theory that the two funerary tumuli are meant to be counted with the five shown on the front of the top lintel (*cf.* Pl. 39) to complete the traditional number of seven. The Eastern Gateway would then contain both the seven *Bodhi-drumas* and the seven *Parinirvāṇa-stūpas* of the seven Mānushi-Buddhas.

The backs of the six uprights are uniformly decorated with a combination of palmettes and lotuses, which Sir John Marshall interprets along with those on the outer sides of the Gateway pillars as the Tree of Life and Fortune (*cf.* Part II, pp. 142-4) [1].

This same combination occurs also on the fronts of the capitals (see Pls. 42 and 44), and is found again here on the back of the north capital; on the right, the bare face of the pillar bears nothing but a standard unfurled.

The false-capitals will be described on Pls. 47 and 48.

The background of the photograph shows the site as it was before Sir John Marshall's excavations.

[1] In these and other examples, the palmettes seem to have been regarded as stylised lotus leaves, though they probably had their origin rather in a conventional "Tree of Life" design than in the lotus plant itself.—J. M.

BACK OF EASTERN GATEWAY

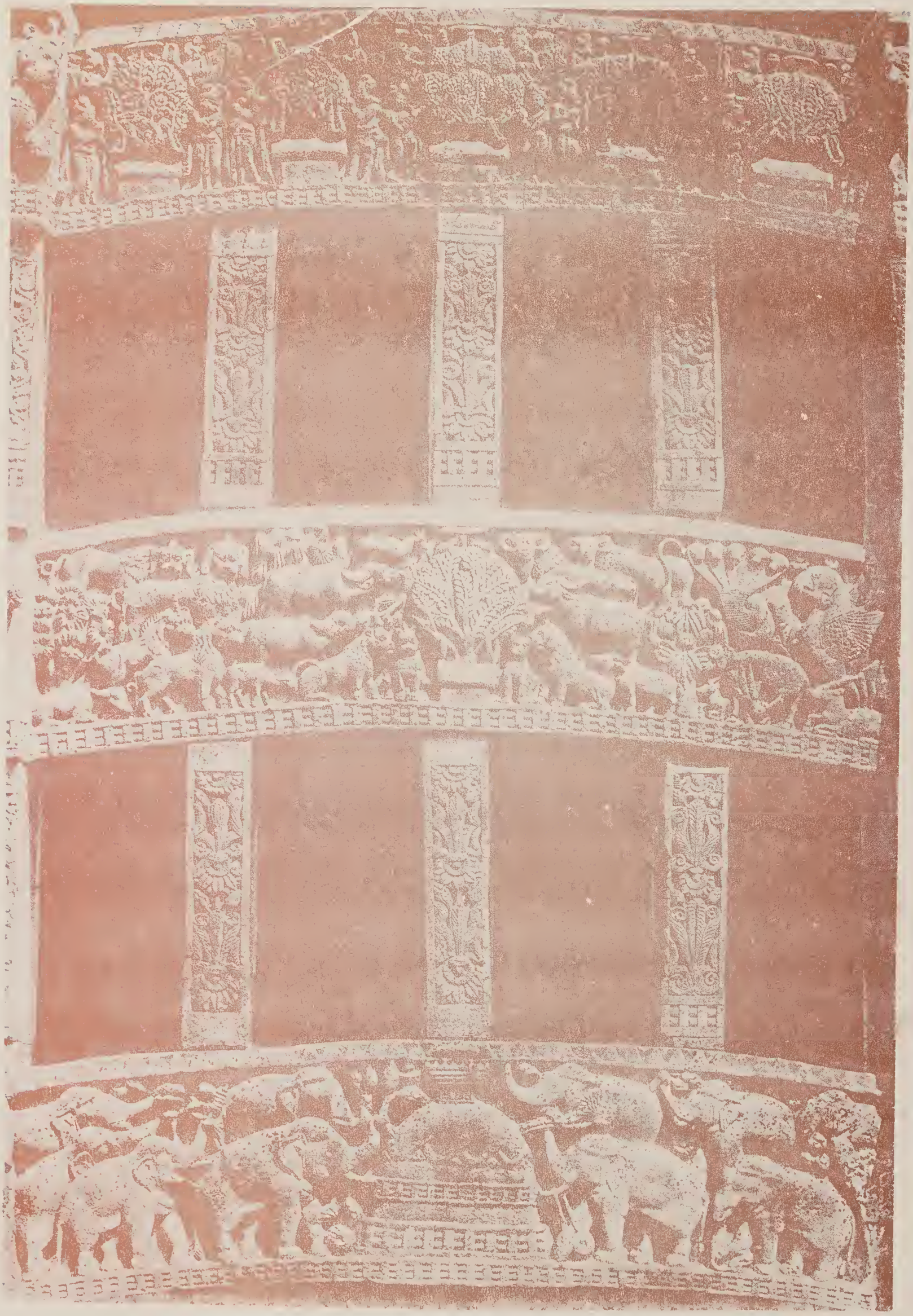


PLATE 46

BACK OF EASTERN GATEWAY: MIDDLE SECTION

1. *Top Lintel.*—This time, our sculptors have portrayed the series of the seven Mānushi-Buddhas in chronological order. The south projecting end of the lintel shows the tree of Vipaśyin, the first of them (*cf.* Pl. 47). Reading from right to left (not, as on Pl. 22, 2, from left to right), we therefore see here successively the fig-tree (unspecified) of Śikhin; the *śāla* (*shorea robusta*) of Viśvabhū; the *sirīsha* (*acacia sirissa*) of Krakucchanda; the *udumbara* (*ficus glomerata*) of Kanakamuni, and the *nyagrodha* (*ficus indica*) of Kāśyapa; and lastly, on the north projecting end of the lintel (*cf.* Pl. 48) the *aśvattha* (*ficus religiosa*) of the last Buddha, namely Śākya-muni. In six cases out of seven the identification of the trees presents little difficulty, though the characteristic features of the *udumbara* are hidden under the garlands, and the drawing of the central *sirīsha* is a little surprising at first sight: on the inscribed bas-relief at Bharhut (Cunn., Pl. 29, 3), botanically much more accurate, the branches of the acacia are indeed shown hanging; but *ibid.*, Pl. 14, 3, they are turned up, as here. The Buddha Śikhin is the only one of the series who still suffers from the fact that no inscribed representation of his tree has as yet been found at Bharhut (*cf.* Pls. 16, 5 & 22, 2). As on Pl. 40, 1, all the worshippers are male.

2. *Middle Lintel.*—It seems that for once we must give the credit for this curious tableau to the artist's imagination: at least it illustrates no text known to us. It is, indeed, related that the Buddha, disgusted at the intestine quarrels of his Community, left Kauśāmbī to retire into solitude, and that the beasts waited on him (*cf. Mahāvagga*, X, 4, 6-7); but according to the text the beasts were only wild elephants—and these are just the animals which do not appear on our lintel; so this celebrated episode in the Master's career could at most have supplied the starting point for the composition before us. On the other hand, it is a commonplace of Buddhist legend that the Buddha was able by virtue of his benevolence (Pali, *mettā*) to live without fear in the midst of the wild animals, and perhaps the best commentary on our bas-relief is a passage in the *Cariyā-piṭaka* (ed. R. Morris, *P. T. S.*, Lond. 1882, p. 101), where the Buddha recounts how in a former life, when he was the young anchorite Sāma (Skr. Śyāma; cf. *infra*, Pl. 65*a*, 1) he sojourned in the forest in the company of lions, tigers, panthers, bears and the like. Be this as it may, the central *aśvattha* proves that it is the Buddha Śākya-muni, who is receiving homage from this half natural, half supernatural "zoo". The four lions flanking his throne (*siṁha-āsana*), two front-face and two in profile, may be meant to make it clear that we are indeed in the presence of the "Lion of the Śākyas". Buffaloes and antelopes, admirably rendered, represent the real fauna of the jungle. Of the monsters, the two griffins and the two unicorn-lions on the left, and the two bulls with manes, human faces and the horns of a ram (*cf.* Pl. 35 *b*, 1) on the right, come from Assyria *via* Persia; but the many-headed serpent and the bird next to it in the top right-hand corner are autochthonous. The first is a Nāga, a genie-serpent; the second, with its egret, big parrot-beak and ear-rings, must be the hereditary enemy of the first, namely Garuḍa, and both are forgetting their natural enmity in the contemplation of the Blessed One. The bignonia and other trees remind us that the scene takes place in the forest.

3. *Bottom Lintel.*—The identification has been discussed above (p. 215). A herd of ten wild elephants, free of any mark of servitude, with lotus-flowers which they have torn up from the nearest pond and are carrying in their trunks or on their tusks, are performing the ritual worship of the central stūpa. In the right-hand corner at the bottom, a single tree represents the jungle.

For the uprights, see Pl. 45.

PLATE 47

BACK OF EASTERN GATEWAY: SOUTH END

1. *Top Lintel.*—The similarity of an inscribed bas-relief at Bharhut (Cunn., Pl. 29, 1) places it beyond dispute that the ***bodhi-druma*** represented here between two pairs of human worshippers is that of Vipaśyin. Literary tradition further assures us that this tree is the *pāṭali* (*bignonia suaveolens*) and not, as the highly formalised representation might have suggested, the *aśoka*.

2. *Middle Lintel.*—This scene, comprising buffaloes, antelopes, trees and birds, continues that on the central part: therefore the animals are all facing left. The plantain is here very clearly drawn (bottom, right). It will be noticed that the four birds (parrots?) are shown flying and carrying offerings of fruit (mangoes and grapes) in their beaks.

3. *Bottom Lintel.*—Two elephants and a baby elephant, all turned left, are taking part from afar in the worship of the stūpa, which stands in the centre of the lintel. A bignonia and a mango-tree complete the scenic decoration (*cf.* Pl. 46).

4. *Dies.*—The top die represents, fairly elaborately, a stūpa of the *Parinirvāṇa* (fourth Great Miracle) with the two winged genii who are bringing garlands and the human couple making an offering of lotus; and the bottom die, an archaic form of the first Great Miracle, wherein the Nativity is simply suggested by a bunch of lotuses coming out of a richly decorated *bhadra-ghaṭa*.

5. ***False-capitals.***—At the top of the jamb two lions, winged and bridled, their brows adorned with stags' antlers, are walking in opposite directions. The one on the left is ridden by a jungle-dweller with a head-dress like the one on Pl. 43, 2, holding a lotus-bud; the right-hand rider has short curly hair tied with a band, and seems to be emphasizing his foreign origin by carrying a vine-leaf (?) in his hand.

In the middle, two kneeling camels are ridden by a man and a woman: compare the man's heavy necklace with that of the hunter on Pl. 43. The camels are of the Bactrian type, long-haired and with a double hump. The rope is fastened, just as it is nowadays, to a wooden peg fixed in the upper part of the nostrils. Observe the unnaturally protuberant eyes. The two personages seem to be holding, besides the rein, a switch made of twisted stuff. See also Part II, p. 137, and Pl. 48.

Finally, on a level with the bottom lintel, the animals set back to back are plain goats. As the male rider here shown faces right, the sheath of his knife may be seen, thrust into the girdle of his narrow loin-cloth, and his knot of hair shows above the top of his diadem. His female partner wears much the same coiffure, and one may compare the tuft of hair rising like a brush on the top of her head with the topknots of the *śālabhañjikās* (*cf.* Pls. 42 and 44 and also Pl. 48).

For description of the capital, bracket and detached figures, the reader is referred to Pls. 42-44.

BACK OF EASTERN GATEWAY: SOUTH END OF ARCHITRAVES WITH CAPITAL

BACK OF EASTERN GATEWAY : NORTH END OF ARCHITRAVES WITH CAPITAL

PLATE 48

BACK OF EASTERN GATEWAY: NORTH END

1. ***Top Lintel.***—From its place at the end of the series and from the tapering points of its leaves we recognize the *aśvattha* or pipal (*ficus religiosa*) of the historical Buddha Śākya-muni. There are only three human worshippers, two male and one female (donors?).

2. *Middle Lintel.*—Facing in the opposite direction to those which decorate the corresponding end (Pl. 47), all the animals (buffaloes, antelopes with straight or curved horns, and parrots bearing bunches of fruit) are likewise looking at the Buddha in the centre. Note the excellent full-length representation of a date-palm (*phœnix sylvestris*).

3. ***Bottom Lintel.***—The remarks that have been made on Pl. 47 apply here to the four elephants of different sizes, all looking right, and to the mango-tree. One must mentally eliminate all the false-capitals which cut up the composition.

4. *Dies.*—Same description as for those on Pl. 47.

5. ***False-capitals.***—Here, again, the descriptions of Pl. 47 are applicable, with the exception of a few details. This time the lions at the top are not winged and carry two similar riders of the 'jungle-dweller' type; in the middle the camels are mounted by the ordinary type of riders; and on the goats at the bottom the woman displays a large tuft of hair, whilst the man, whose hair is short, is wearing sandals and leggings. Finally, in the middle false-capital, the rider on the right is clearly brandishing in his right hand a switch made of twisted stuff, which is probably what the right-hand rider on the top false-capital is also doing.

For the *capital*, the reader is referred to Pl. 42.

6. *Detached Figures.*—The *śālabhañjikā* has been described from all sides on Pl. 44; here she is seen from behind, like the Yakshī between the lintels. Notice the difference between her loose hair, and the veil and loops which fall over the back of her elegant counterpart; and observe also that the standard-bearer perched on the back of the detached elephant is a double relief carved in the same attitude on the two sides of a single stone, which fits into a mortice on the top lintel (*cf.* Pl. 43).

NORTH PILLAR OF EASTERN GATEWAY

a-b. Front of North Jamb.—For the general meaning of the composition see p. 227. From the technical point of view it will be noticed at once that it is divided into seven storeys distributed among four distinct buildings, *viz.*, one storey (which we shall call no. 1) for the bottom palace and two storeys (nos. 2-3, 4-5, 6-7) for the three others. The capitals of the ground-floor columns in each storey are the only ones of Indo-Persian form, surmounted by the usual winged animals back to back (notice by the way that on the fourth storey the animals, from right to left, are lions, horses, elephants and, instead of the expected bulls, goats); the columns supporting the roofs are provided simply with a bracket. The long, keel-shaped roofs are, except on the seventh storey, pierced with dormer-windows of the well-known horse-shoe pattern, sometimes blind (fifth storey) and sometimes partly open and, in this case, closed at the top by a chequered screen (third storey). The whole is crowned by a terrace open to the sky, surrounded on three sides by separate blocks of building. A railing runs along both the ground-floor and the first-floor balcony, above a course decorated with the projecting ends of the joists, which acts alternatively as plinth or as cornice.

1st Storey: The Lokapālas' Heaven.—At the bottom of the hierarchical ladder, where they figure as minor divinities, the "Four Kings who guard the world" occupy a separate building, intermediate between the worlds of men and of gods. Unfortunately, the panel is damaged, but all four of them can still be seen in the foreground in front of a row of female attendants, though one cannot give names to these uniform figures, nor consequently tell which of them is in the seat of honour.

2nd Storey.—The *Trayastriṁśat Heaven*, or the heaven of the "Thirty-Three" is situated on the ground-floor of the next *vimāna* and introduces a series of five court tableaux, all alike; as this is mutilated, we have lost the figure of the president of the group, "Sakra, the Indra of the Gods". We may still note in the top corners the indication of a palm-tree at the left and a mango-tree on the right (*cf.* the plantain on the right of panel no. 1): such indications of trees recur regularly in the background of the two other palaces; for the celestial paradises comprise parks just as they do all the other accessories of royal life.

3rd Storey.—*Yama's Heaven* occupies the first floor of the second palace. We will pass quickly over this panel, on account of its comparatively small dimensions and the mutilations which it has suffered. Besides, the description of the following one applies to this.

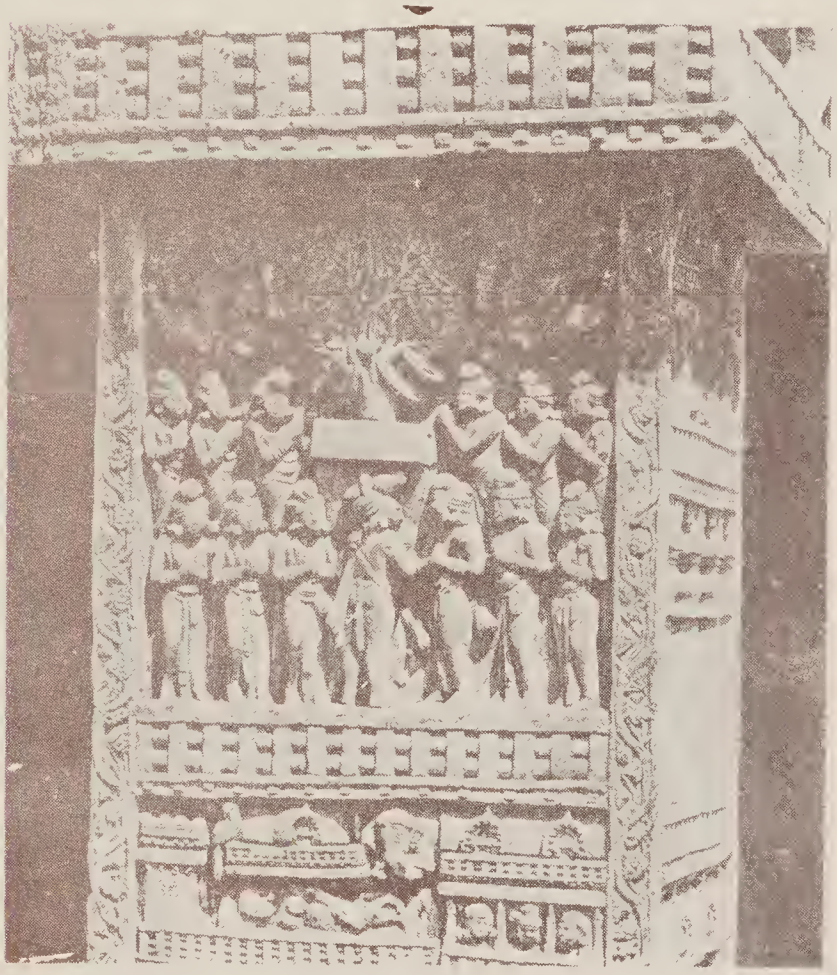
4th and 5th Storeys.—The Fourth (*Tushita*) Heaven, where the gods live "in joy", is the one where Śākya-muni, the last Buddha, awaited and where Maitreya, the future Buddha, is awaiting the hour of his last coming upon earth. The fact that the picture contains nothing particularly devotional proves clearly how stereotyped the concept of these paradises was, and already such as we find it today in Ceylon and Indo-China. In accordance with what we have already seen on the 2nd and 3rd storeys and shall see on the 5th (Heaven of the *Nirmāṇa-rati*, that is, of the gods who "rejoice in their own creations"), the "king" of each heaven is seated between the central columns in the pose of the *līlā-āsana*, holding the two divine attributes of the thunderbolt and the flask of ambrosia. Of his heavenly companions, only one is ever seen, apparently the one who performs the functions of his viceroy (*upa-rāja*)—functions well-known from the *Jātaka* texts, and till recently still in existence in some spheres of Indian civilisation such as Nepāl or Cambodia. This viceroy is seated on his right in the same attitude, but with empty hands and on a slightly lower seat, usually a rattan stool (*morha*) covered with a carpet. Behind each of them stand the inevitable women-attendants bearing the royal insignia, the umbrella and fly-whisk. Lastly, the space between the columns on the right is regularly filled with musicians (harp-, flute-, and tambourine-players) and dancers, a ballet being in India an indispensable part of a life of pleasure.

6th and 7th Storeys.—The same description applies to the 6th storey, except that the central figure is not holding the thunderbolt in his right hand. This omission looks to us like a discreet way of letting us know that, though flanked, like his neighbour, with the usual two insignia of royalty, he does not represent the sovereign of the 6th heaven, that of the *Paranirmita-vaśavartin*, and that we must look for Māra, in company with his *alter ego* and their attendants—he with the cup and the other with the flask in his hand—on the balcony of the top gallery (*cf.* above, p. 227).

c. *Top Panel of Inner (South) Face of North Jamb.*—We were long under the impression that this panel was a sequel to the one which is placed below, and represented in the usual elliptical fashion (Buddha seated on) a throne under a *ficus indica* in the *Nyagrodha-ārāma* which his father Śuddhodana had presented to him, receiving the homage of all the aristocracy of the Śākyas, grouped round their suzerain lord. The species of the tree, the odd number of persons, and the striking resemblance which the protagonist bears to King Śuddhodana, as he is depicted on the bottom panel (*cf.* Pl. 50), gave strong support to this identification. But the earnest expressions and clasped hands of the personages seem to correspond much better with the famous episode of the *Adhyeshaṇa* (*cf.* p. 210). As a matter of fact, at this time the Buddha Śākya-muni had already left the shelter of his Bodhi-tree (*aśvattha*) for that of a *nyagrodha*, and the royal turban on the central figure would befit Indra, whilst the other principal figure close by would be Brahmā (*cf.* Pl. 64*a*, 2). Each of the two great gods naturally has a retinue of some of his heavenly companions. Notice, in the sky, the two *devaputras* riding on lions, who replace the usual two winged spirits and, like them, fill the accessory role of bearers of offerings.

a.

b



c

NORTH PILLAR OF EASTERN GATEWAY:

a. UPPER PANELS ON FRONT FACE b LOWER PANELS ON FRONT FACE c. UPPER PANELS ON SOUTH FACE

a.

b

c

(a) NORTH PILLAR OF EASTERN GATEWAY: LOWER PANELS ON SOUTH FACE

(b) NORTH FACE

PLATE 50

PILLARS OF EASTERN GATEWAY—continued

a1. Middle Panel of Inner (South) Face of North Jamb.—Whatever identification we may adopt for the panel just above, we are here at Kapilavastu. The episode of the Conception (*cf.* pp. 182 and 202) introduced in the top left-hand corner, serves to prove it, and is there for no other purpose: for more than thirty years separate it from the context of the relief, which refers to the return of the 'Perfectly Accomplished Buddha' to his native town (*cf.* p. 204). This is a good opportunity to examine once more (*cf.* Pls. 40, 2 and 51*b*) the architecture of houses and city gates, the make-up of a procession, the appointments of a chariot and the way a royal turban is fixed with a curious spindle-shaped object on the top. And if the identification leaves any reader incredulous, let him compare the long flag-stone of the *caṅkrama* or "walking path" on Pls. 19*d*, 34*a*, 36*c* and 51*a* and *b*. The trees of the park in which the miracle takes place are, above, from left to right, a fan-shaped palm (*tāla=borassus flabelliformis*), a bignonia and a mango-tree; and at the bottom on the right, in the same order, a flowering mango-tree (?), a plantain and a bignonia. As for the *ficus indica* in the bottom left-hand corner—whose sacred character, in the absence of the umbrella, is attested by the balustrade round it—it symbolises all by itself a wood of *nyagrodha* (*cf.* p. 204). For the technique and art of this relief, see Part II, pp. 122-123.

a2. Bottom Panel.—The guardian genie of the Gate and his counterpart on Pl. 52 ought to represent Dhṛitarāshṭra, King of the Gandharvas, and his viceroy (*cf.* p. 247); but they display no characteristic attribute, not even a harp. We may console ourselves with the thought that, like the Yaksha on Pl. 36, they at least afford us full length illustrations of Indian lords of the first century B.C. (*cf.* Pl. 36). This one is raising in his right hand a many-petalled lotus, whose pericarp is clearly shown, and holding in his lowered left hand the edge of the scarf loosely tied round his waist (*cf.* the Yaksha on Pls. 22, 23 and 29). The trees at the back are a mango at the left and a bignonia at the right. *Cf.* Part II, p. 133.

b. Outer (North) Face of North Jamb.—A band of pink lotuses (*padma=nelumbium speciosum*), which we have already seen on Pls. 19*e* and 23*b* and shall find again on Pl. 103*f*, is framed between two sinuous creepers of the same flowers, trimmed with buds and leaves. The interval between the rosaques in the middle is filled by leaves or flowers or blue and pink lotuses. *Cf.* Part II, pp. 145-6.

c. Outer (South) Face of South Jamb.—It is interesting to compare the corresponding decoration on the outer face of the other jamb. Here, the entire face of the pillar is covered by a sinuous lotus creeper like those which border the opposite one. In this splendid ornamental motif, whose only fault is that it is a little overcrowded, the usual denizens of the lotus pools—geese (*haṁsas*) and, half-way up, a tortoise—are mingled with the flowers, buds and leaves, shown at all stages of development and from every angle. It will be noticed how the stem, which is the tubular stalk, not the rhizome, of a lotus, is coiled round at the top, and at the bottom is issuing from the jaws of a curious *makara* (for which *cf.* Pl. 87, no. 71*b*).

Apropos of this garland, we may notice that it reappears on a reduced scale as a border on all the ornamented sides of the two pillars (except on the facade of the north pillar, where it is replaced by a simple leafy rod), and that in those cases it always comes out of a *bhadra-ghaṭa*. For further observations on these lotus designs, see Part II, pp. 142-6.

PLATE 51

SOUTH PILLAR OF EASTERN GATEWAY

a. Top Panels of Front Face, South Jamb.—It is certainly worthy of note that the two bas-reliefs here shown are found again, one above the other but in inverse order, on the outer face of the so-called Pillar of Prasenajit at Bharhut (Cunn., Pls. 13, 1*a*, and 14, 1). It is evident, even palpable, that these are variants of one and the same theme, so that the Bharhut labels apply also to Sāñchī.

This is what has made it possible to assert definitely (p. 197) that the lower panel (in spite of the anachronism of the hypæthral temple) represents the second Great Miracle in the Master's life—the *Sambodhi*. We notice that here the branches of the sacred fig-tree are coming out through the windows of the encircling gallery. On each side, a mango-tree and a bignonia represent the groves of Uruvilvā. The emblem (here the only one, but twice repeated at Bharhut) surmounting the *vajra-āsana* ought to symbolise the Buddha, or at most the Buddha and his Law (*Dharma*), since the Community (*Saṅgha*) did not come into existence until after the First Sermon; but let it be remembered that the temple itself which is here portrayed, was not built until the time of Aśoka.

It looks as though the four praying figures in the foreground of the lower panel should be identified as the four Lokapālas. In any case the 8 + 10 personages ranged in two lines on the top panel are certainly divinities, and it is even probable, from the analogy of Bharhut, where the inscriptions name them, that they should be divided into two groups (*cf.* Hultzsch, *Indian Antiquary*, XXI, p. 231); the ten, at a rate of two per heaven, represent the *Kāmāvacara* gods, that is, those who still belong to the world of desire and occupy, above the Lokapālas, the five other storeys on the facade of the adjacent pillar (see Pl. 49). The eight at the top we have not yet seen, but in the legend they, too, take an interest in the Master's principal miracles: they are the *Suddhāvāsa-devas* who, beyond the sixth heaven, freed from the tyranny of the senses, dwell in the "Pure Abodes". Here the Sāñchī workmen have contrived to give an occupation to the two rows of supers by making them line up (but without allowing them to turn their backs on the spectator) on each side of the long flag-stone which cuts the picture in two and which can be nothing but the *caṅkrama* or "walking-path" of the Master (*cf.* Pls. 19*d*, 34*a*, 36*c*, 50*a*, 51*b*; and notice that the Eastern Gateway shows this *caṅkrama* always bare and open to the sky, whereas the Southern Gateway has a garland floating over it and the Northern Gateway shelters it under a gallery). Hence the panel assumes a particular meaning: instead of simply showing, as at Bharhut, an assembly of gods hastening hither to pay homage to the newly enlightened Buddha, it portrays in addition the episode of the "Walk" which the Master took soon after the Sambodhi (*cf.* p. 207).

b. Bottom Panels of Front Face, South Pillar.—The other half of the jamb is likewise divided into two panels. The upper one terminates the series of miracles which, not without difficulty, brought about the conversion of the Kāśyapas (*cf.* Pl. 52*a* and p. 210). Here it will be sufficient to notice: the way the flood is represented by wave-like lines; the trees whose trunks are being battered by the water (we can recognize at the left a champaka above and a bignonia below; at the right in the middle, a mango-tree, in which two monkeys are taking refuge; and below, on the bank, a row of plantains); the crocodile, *haṁsas* and cormorants playing among the lotuses; the way the planks are jointed and the shape of the paddles of the canoe containing the three anchorites, etc. Are these three extempore navigators the same as the ones we find down below on dry land, with the addition of a young novice (*brahmacārin*)—namely the "three Kāśyapa brothers"? Some are inclined to think that the personage seen from behind, facing the *caṅkrama* of the Blessed One, is represented prostrate on the ground, and they have given as proof the way the two blossoms beside him are seen from above; but these blossoms, scattered here and there all over the composition, are put there for no other purpose than to indicate, here as elsewhere, the rain of flowers which accompanies the miracle. In any case, this personage can hardly be any other than the eldest of the three brothers, Mahā-Kāśyapa, at last submitting to perform the *añjali* to the invisible Buddha. For the probable meaning of the throne under the fig-tree below at the right, *cf.* p. 211.

For the lower panel, the general context of the pillar, our only guide in the circumstances, has led us to the identification given on p. 217. The bas-relief, reproducing the stereotyped theme of the "Royal Visit", lends itself to the same observations as those on Pls. 18*a*, 34*b*, 35*b*, 50*a*, etc.

It may be remarked that the columns of Indo-Persian style, which sometimes (apparently by a whim of the sculptor's) replace the lotus-creeper on the border, have, in addition to their characteristic capital, a vase-shaped pedestal, which they lack on Pl. 49.

a

b

SOUTH PILLAR OF EASTERN GATEWAY

(a) UPPER PANELS ON FRONT FACE

(b) LOWER PANELS ON FRONT FACE

a

b

a

SOUTH PILLAR OF EASTE[illegible]TEWAY

(*a*) UPPER PANELS ON NORTH FACE

(*b*) LOWEST PANEL ON NORTH FACE

PLATE 52

SOUTH PILLAR OF EASTERN GATEWAY—concluded

a. Inner (North) Face of South Jamb.—We have already seen that the three upper panels tell the main incidents in the difficult conversion of the Kāśyapas (*cf.* pp. 210-12): it only remains to note here the accessory details, which are abundant.

*a*1. The bas-relief at the top gives us a very lively tableau of the village of Uruvilvā, where herds of cattle, buffaloes and goats are seen among the houses. Above, at the left, on the threshold of their cottages, some women are about their household tasks. Two of them are squatting: one, her attention apparently distracted by the conversation of the man sitting near her, is crushing *cari* powder, and the other is winnowing rice in a *śūrpa*. Two others are standing: one husking rice in a mortar with a big wooden pestle, and the other rolling dough for a cake (*chapaṭṭi*). Two others, below at the right, round pitchers on their hips, are going to draw water at what might be taken for a lotus-pool, but which, from the sinuous lines which show the current, seems rather to be the river Nairañjanā, which still waters Urel under the name of Lilañj; and a third is already leaning forward in the act of filling her *ghaṭī*. In front of a building which seems to be the (rather too gorgeous) gate of the village, stands a man, with a bamboo pole on his shoulder and ropes in his hand: right at the top another man shows us how a double burden can be balanced, by hanging a basket or jar by ropes on to the two ends of a bamboo. Such was village life two thousand years ago; such it is today, and there is not one of the utensils represented which is not still in use. The gesture of a villager standing before the gate with hands clasped is the only bond between all these "genre" scenes, so pleasantly treated, and the religious subject, which has undoubtedly been somewhat shelved but which nevertheless represents the third and fourth of the numerous prodigies which led in the end to the conversion of the *Jaṭilas*, in the order given in the *Mahāvagga* (I, 16-18).

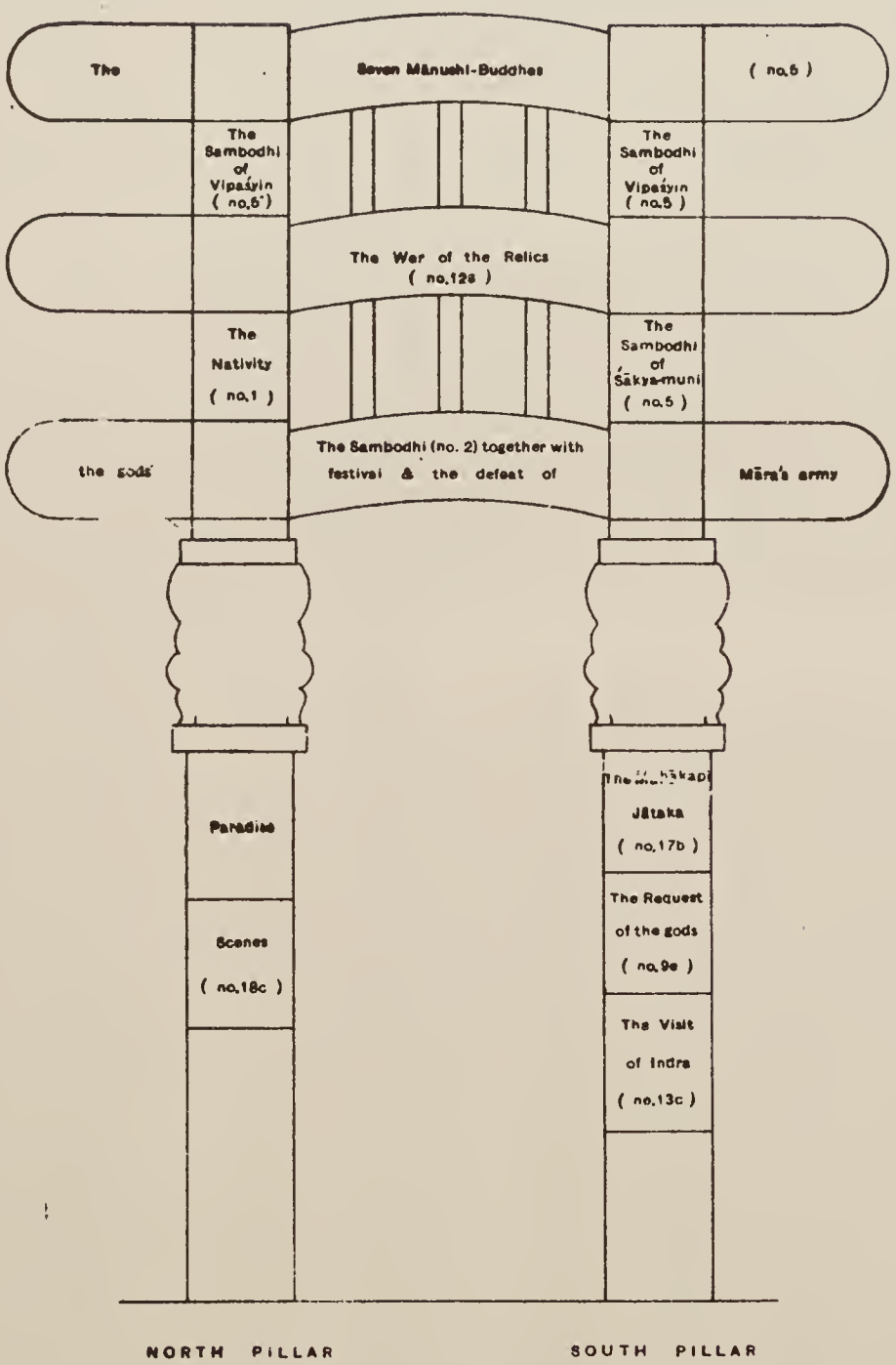
*a*2. The sculptor has given more space in the middle panel to the tale of the miraculous victory over the *Nāga*—the first in the *Mahāvagga* version, the last in the *Mahāvastu* version—at the expense of the hermitage picture. However, there is again a rich harvest of picturesque details to be reaped—such as the temple-cupola, raised on pillars; the leafy roof of the round hut (*parṇaśālā*); the dress of bark (beaten into long strands) of the Brāhman anchorites; the rolled mat (*bṛisī*) on which old Kāśyapa is sitting, with a band passing round his knees; the novices coming to draw water, no doubt to put out the fire of the temple, if we are to believe the Gandhāra replicas; the hearths and spoons of Vedic sacrifice; an elephant and two antelopes, one of which is calmly drinking; two buffaloes which, on the contrary, are raising their heads in alarm; three monkeys, frisking or marauding at the left, at the top of a mango-tree and a fan-palm; at the right, a bird resting on a *ficus* near a bignonia; below, some geese playing among the lotuses of the Nairañjanā, whose bank is edged with a row of plantains, etc. It may be wondered, also, whether the sculptor did not, according to his wont, intend to double his subjects. In the middle of the foreground an adult anchorite seems to be taking a chilly plunge in the river, looking out of the corner of his eye at a fire blazing on the bank, near which he has left his pitcher: have we not here an allusion to the miracle of the Buddha creating fires to permit the Brāhmans to warm themselves after bathing (*Mahāvagga*, I, 20, 15)?

*a*3. But it is particularly the bottom panel which, round some new prodigies (*cf. Mahāvagga* I, 20, 12-13, and *Mahāvastu*, III, p. 426, ll. 15-18), describes everyday life in the hermitages; the bringing of the offerings and the preparation of fuel for the sacrifice (the anchorites still use primitive axes to split their wood); the curious shape of the hearths and spoons for oblation; the use of fans of matting to coax the fire; and, most interesting detail of all, a stūpa of the most archaic form known—perhaps the mausoleum of a former superior of this Brāhman community. The objects decorating the lower part of the tumulus, seen just above the rectangular balustrade (a double basket(?) between two conches), may be explained—like the oar planted on Elpenor's tomb by the companions of Ulysses—as the instruments which the deceased habitually used in his life-time.[1]

b. Bottom Panel of Inner (North) Face of South Jamb.—Trees and person are just as on Pl. 50. Only the trees have changed sides and the genie, his left hand leaning on his hip, is raising a bignonia flower instead of a lotus in his right hand. *Cf.* pp. 133-4 *supra*.

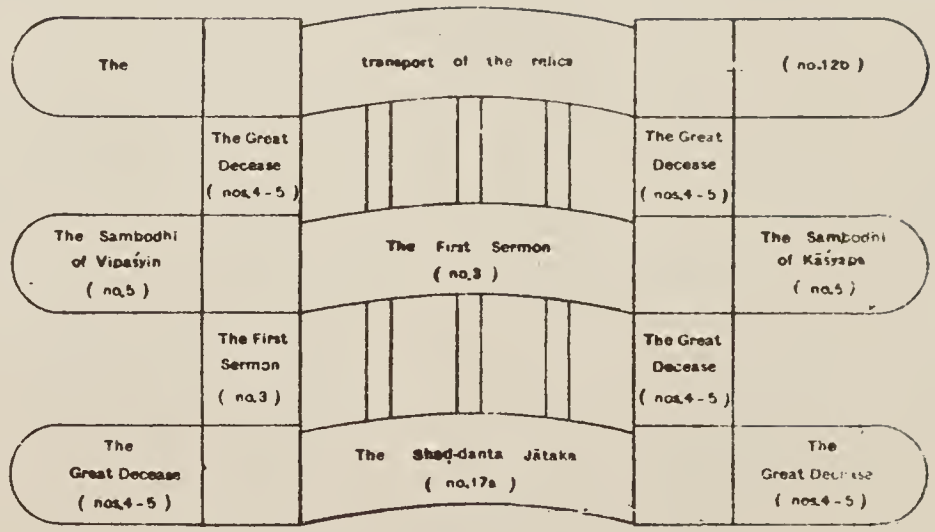
[1] These objects may, however, be shells, used merely for decorative purposes.—J. M.

FRONT


The
Seven Mānushi-Buddhas
(no.6)
The Sambodhi of Vipaśyin (no.6)
The Sambodhi of Vipaśyin (no.5)
The War of the Relics (no.12a)
The Nativity (no.1)
The Sambodhi of Śākya-muni (no.5)
the gods
The Sambodhi (no. 2) together with festival & the defeat of
Māra's army
Paradise
Scenes (no.18c)
Jātaka (no.17b)
The Request of the gods (no.9e)
The Visit of Indra (no.13c)

NORTH PILLAR SOUTH PILLAR

BACK


The
transport of the relics
(no.12b)
The Great Decease (nos.4 - 5)
The Great Decease (nos.4 - 5)
The Sambodhi of Vipaśyin (no.5)
The First Sermon (no.3)
The Sambodhi of Kāśyapa (no.5)
The First Sermon (no.3)
The Great Decease (nos.4 - 5)
The Great Decease (nos.4 - 5)
The Śyāma Jātaka (no.17d)
The Episode of Mucilinda (no.9b)
The Sambodhi together with the Temptation etc. (nos.2 &3a,d)
The Conversion of the Śākyas (no.7c)

INNER FACE OF

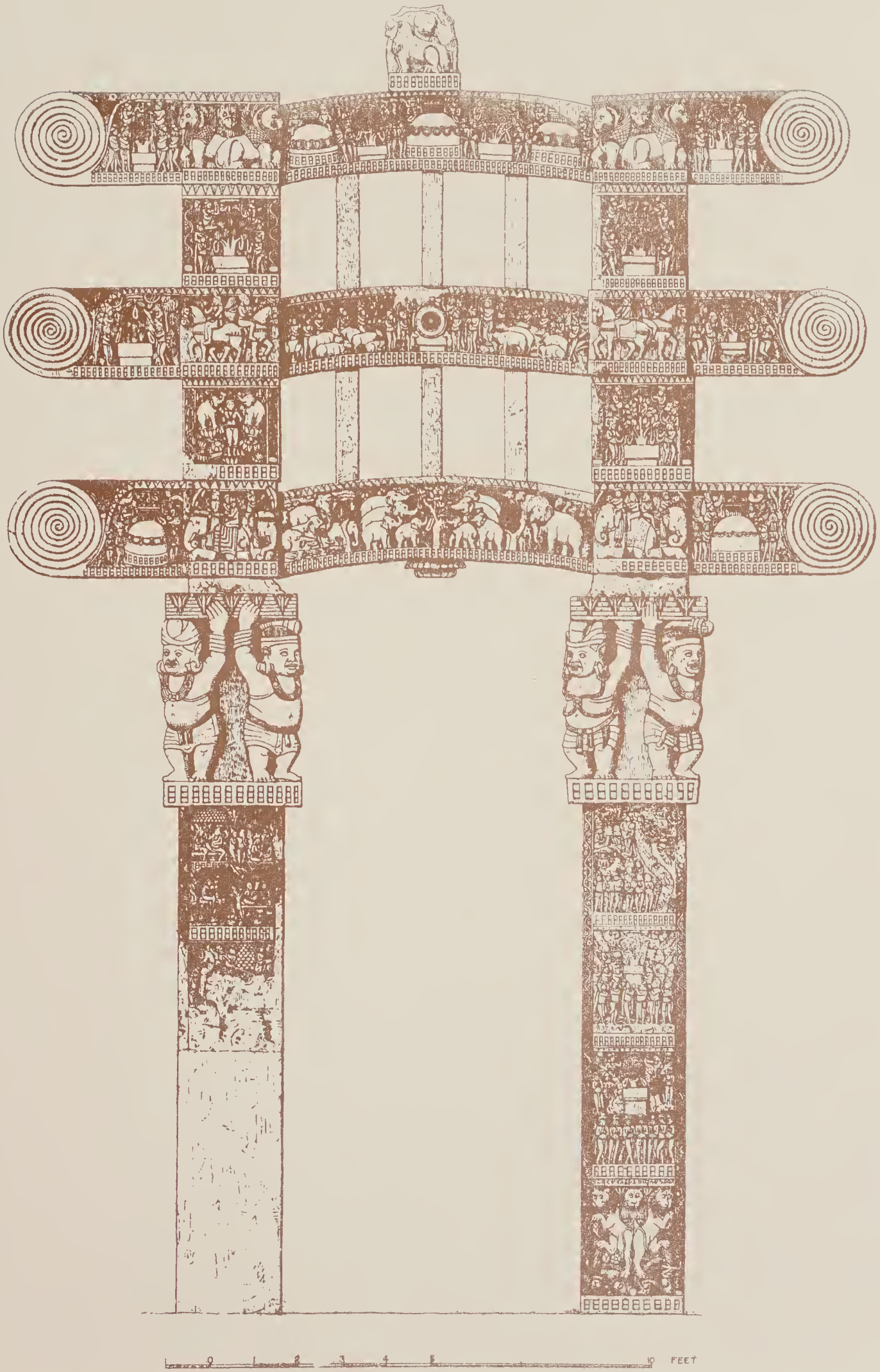
NORTH PILLAR SOUTH PILLAR

WESTERN GATEWAY (Restored) : INDEX-MAP OF THE LEGENDARY SCENES

Rec. No. 3838 E'36-500.

Helio. S. I. O. Calcutta.

THE MONUMENTS OF SANCHI, STUPA I



FRONT ELEVATION OF WESTERN GATEWAY

FRONT FACE OF WESTERN GATEWAY

PLATE 54

FRONT FACE OF WESTERN GATEWAY

As we have already said (pp. 233 and 236) and indicated on the drawing facing Pl. 53, the middle and bottom lintels have been put back with the face reversed (*cf.* Pl. 60) during the restoration in the last century. In all probability the original facade was composed as follows:—

a. Top Lintel: Representation of the seven Mānushi-Buddhas;

b. Middle Lintel: War of the Relics;

c. Bottom Lintel: Great Miracle of the Enlightenment;

whilst the back showed in the same order:—

a. a transport of relics which is only an excuse for a procession;

b. a First Sermon stretched out laterally;

c. a decorative (and aberrant) composition of the *Shaḍdanta-jātaka.*

It will be remembered that in our examination, the Western Gateway has always impressed us unfavourably by the slovenliness alike of conception and execution, and the identification of the following scenes is bound to suffer from this indisputable carelessness.

With these reservations we will describe the actual appearance of the Western Gateway as seen on Pl. 53. It will be noticed at once that this Gateway has lost half of its north jamb, its uprights (but see Pl. 57) and all its detached figures except a griffin (Pl. 59) and the pedestal of the central wheel on the top.

This latter was made of four seated lions arranged like the four elephants on its fellow at the Northern Gateway (Pl. 22) and those on the capitals at the Eastern Gateway (Pls. 42 and 44), so that they are seen in profile on each side and their four heads guard the four corners of the pedestal; an additional lion shows his head and paws above their backs as on the false-capitals of the Eastern Gateway (Pls. 41-44) and of this Western Gateway (Pls. 56 and 60).

On the front, as we know, the symbolical representation of the set of the Seven last Buddhas of our æon is the rule for all gateways without exception. Here they are represented by three *stūpas* and four *bodhi-drumas.* Three out of the four dies bear a *bodhi-druma* also on the front face. Had the conscientious carver of the Southern Gateway been at work here, these three trees would no doubt have completed the set of the seven sacred ones; but the artist who designed the Western Gateway had no such scruples: he has merely shown the *bignonia* of Vipaśyin twice over and repeated the *aśvattha* of Śākya-muni. Then—as if there were not enough of these mechanical repetitions—the first tree on the left of the top lintel raises a serious difficulty: it is the *nāga-pushpa* or *michelia champaka* of the future Buddha Maitreya, the last thing one would expect here: for how can the *eighth* Buddha, yet to come, figure in the set of the *seven* last Buddhas of the past? The designer of the Western Gateway is here guilty of a more than ordinary blunder: for we cannot put it down to the last restorers.

There are other marks of carelessness, too: the symbolical pictures of the Enlightenment and Last Decease, which (except for representations of the seven Mānushi-Buddhas) were the monopoly of the dies, have here been pressed into service to fill the ends of the middle and bottom lintels as well; and the entire middle part of the middle lintel has even been given up to the First Sermon, whilst the bottom lintel presents a third and altered edition of the hackneyed legend of the six-tusked elephant.

The four dies show one Nativity to three *Sambodhis,* and, on the back, three *Parinirvāṇas* to a single First Sermon. One may wonder whether this was really the original distribution of motives, or whether two of the dies have not been turned back to front.

On the capitals, atlantes have taken the place of the lions of the Southern Gateway and the elephants of the Northern and Eastern Gateways: they will be found again on the Gateway of Stūpa 3 (Pl. 140).

The mutilated front of the north jamb shows again two commonplace pictures of paradise, one of them incomplete. The south jamb has on its inner face an Enlightenment of Śākya-muni and a Conversion of the Śākyas: on its facade, the *Mahākapi-jātaka,* the Gods' Request and Indra's Visit—all but one, motifs already seen above; and as a last confession of impotence, a purely decorative pattern ventures to show itself for the first time on the front of a jamb.

PLATE 55

FRONT OF WESTERN GATEWAY: MIDDLE SECTION

1. *Top Lintel.*—As on the front of the Southern Gateway (Pl. 15), the Seven Mānushi-Buddhas are represented by three stūpas and four *bodhi-drumas*; but here the seven symbols occupy the whole length of the lintel, including the ends, just as on the fronts of the Northern and Eastern Gateways (Pls. 21 and 39), where we have five *stūpas* and only two *bodhi-drumas*. The two trees on the Eastern Gateway are those of the first and last Buddhas of the series; the four trees on the Southern Gateway are those of the last four; the two trees on the Northern Gateway, like the two which here decorate the middle section of the Western Gateway, are those of the last two. At the left of the central stūpa we can clearly recognize the *nyagrodha* of Kāśyapa, and on the right the *aśvattha* of Śākya-muni. The tree at the south end of the lintel seems to be the *udumbara* of Kanaka-muni (*cf.* Pl. 58, 1); on the north end we should have expected the *acacia sirissa* of Krakucchanda as on the Southern Gateway (Pl. 56, 1), instead of the *nāga-pushpa* of Maitreya. As on Pl. 40, 1, we notice the absence of female worshippers.

2. (*Back of*) *Middle Lintel.*—On the middle lintel the sculptor has undertaken without more ado to fill up the long rectangle of the middle section with a motif just big enough to cover a little square panel—namely, the third Great Miracle. As he could change nothing in the principal theme, he has simply planted in the centre the Wheel of the Law (with 32 spokes) on the throne and under the umbrella, but he has made up for this simplicity by repeating the accessories *ad nauseam*. The First Sermon takes place, as we all know, in the Deer Park, in the northern suburb of Benares. As this is a park, he has trimmed all the background of his picture with trees; and as this park contains deer, he shows us, not unskilfully, a whole herd of them (see Part II, pp. 135-6). As for the Master's five first auditors, as his First Sermon turned them into the first five monks, the customs of the School forbade him to show them, for a *bhikshu* must not be depicted any more than a Buddha. Never mind! among the trees and deer he inserts a string of worshippers of the usual aristocratic type, leaving us to guess whether they are gods of the sky, genii of the air, or lords of the earth. That is the whole trick.—Now, Master Donor, pay me for my trouble!

3. (*Back of*) *Bottom Lintel.*—But with these artists of the Western Gateway our surprises are never at an end. On what was and should still be the back of the bottom lintel they have repeated once more the legend of the six-tusked elephant which they could study on the Southern and Northern Gateways (Pls. 15 and 29): without exerting themselves further they show us the noble animal twice—recognizable by his two royal attributes, the umbrella and fly-whisk, as well as by his triple dentition—standing with his people round him on each side of the banyan fig-tree, which, as usual, forms the centre of the picture. It is, indeed, the same composition as on Pl. 29, only more crowded, and we even find again in the top left-hand corner the solitary pachyderm turning her back upon the rest, to remind us of the fatal sulks of the jealous wife. But the odd thing about it is that the elephants and their king no longer know why they are there. On the two other Gateways they are aware that they have only to rest in the shade after their bath, while awaiting the tragic events of which each felt a presentiment and which the sculptor of the Southern Gateway relief even foreshadowed by expressly introducing the hunter. On the Western Gateway they are no longer satisfied with this passive role, and here, with the king at their head, they are all setting about worshipping the banyan tree, offering to it with raised trunks the lotuses which they have plucked from the neighbouring pool (shown, as usual, in the left of the landscape). In the end, the legend transforms itself into a scene of adoration similar to that which is unfolded round a stūpa on the back of the bottom lintel of the Eastern Gateway (Pl. 46, 3), and it looks as if in the sculptor's mind the latter picture had contaminated those on Pls. 15 and 29. Nothing can be clearer than that he is trifling with his subject, or at any rate is only looking upon it as an excuse for decoration. The trees from left to right are an *acacia sirissa*, a jack-tree (*autocarpus integrifolia*), the central *nyagrodha*, a mango-tree, a tree like the one at Bharhut, Cunn., Pl. 45, 10, and a fan-leaf palm. For technical and stylistic details, *cf.* Part II, pp. 120 and 135.

FRONT OF SOUTHERN GATEWAY : MIDDLE SECTION OF ARCHITRAVES

FRONT OF WESTERN GATEWAY NORTH END OF UPPER AND MIDDLE ARCHITRAVES

PLATE 56

FRONT OF WESTERN GATEWAY: NORTH END

1. *Top Lintel.*—This stereotyped scene of the *Sambodhi* belongs to the set of seven symbols on the front (*cf.* Pls. 54 and 55); but we may feel some justified astonishment in recognizing its flower as that, not of the *bodhi-druma* of one of the seven last Buddhas of the past, but of the *nāga-pushpa* or *michelia champaka* of Maitreya, the next Buddha to come.

2. (*Back of*) *Middle Lintel.*—Another proof of the decadence of the workshop. Having lost all inventive faculty, they repeat the same clichés mechanically everywhere, and the only attempt at variety is in a contamination of scenes: this is how they try here to relieve the hackneyed representation of the *bodhi-druma* of Vipaśyin by adding a "Presentation of the four alms-bowls" by the Four Guardians of the World—who have performed the same service for all the Buddhas in succession. Finally, the artist borrows two antelopes couchant from scenes of the First Sermon (one on the left behind a plantain, and the other on the right near a mango-tree), animals which have no business here but which serve to fill up space.

3. *Top Die.*—Again the *Sambodhi* of Vipaśyin! One detail, however, deserves to be pointed out; for it gives us very exact information on the nature of the offerings which we have seen so many times borne on trays and merely indicated by a check pattern: they are either flowers or, as here, garlands of flowers, made in the Indian way. Would you like to know the recipe? Detach some flowers from their stem, removing the ends; string the flowers like beads on a thread; join several of these chaplets into a single bundle; arrange the necklaces thus formed round a dish, and carry to th sanctuary, sacred tree or stūpa. Here, the two winged genii ar distinctly seen raising in both hands the rolled-up garlands from th trays held up by the two persons in the middle-ground, whilst th two in the foreground are each holding one. Two other garlands ar seen already hanging from the sacred tree and from the shaft o the crowning umbrella.

4. *Bottom Die.*—Clumsy but advanced representation of the Nativity (*cf.* pp. 183 and 197). The frightful hideousness of Māyā is partly due to a scratch on the stone. (See Part II, pp. 130-31.)

5. *Top False-Capital.*—The two griffins sitting back to back and the third who has his head and forepaws in the embrasure thus formed, recall the arrangement of the winged lions on the Eastern Gateway (Pls. 41-44); notice the curious little curl on the forehead and the serrated juncture of muzzle and beak. The beak is more like that of a parrot than of an eagle.

6. *Middle False-Capital.*—The riders of the two stallions passant (again with riding-whips) are of the aristocratic type. Their shawls or scarves (*uttarīya*) are floating in the wind. We will not revert to the harness of their steeds (whose tails are not fastened). The two ribbons falling upon the saddle-cloth are part of the rider's girdle. We have already seen these horses, lying down, on the false-capitals of the Southern and Northern Gateways (Pls. 10 and 28).

PLATE 57

FRONT OF WESTERN GATEWAY: NORTH END—concluded

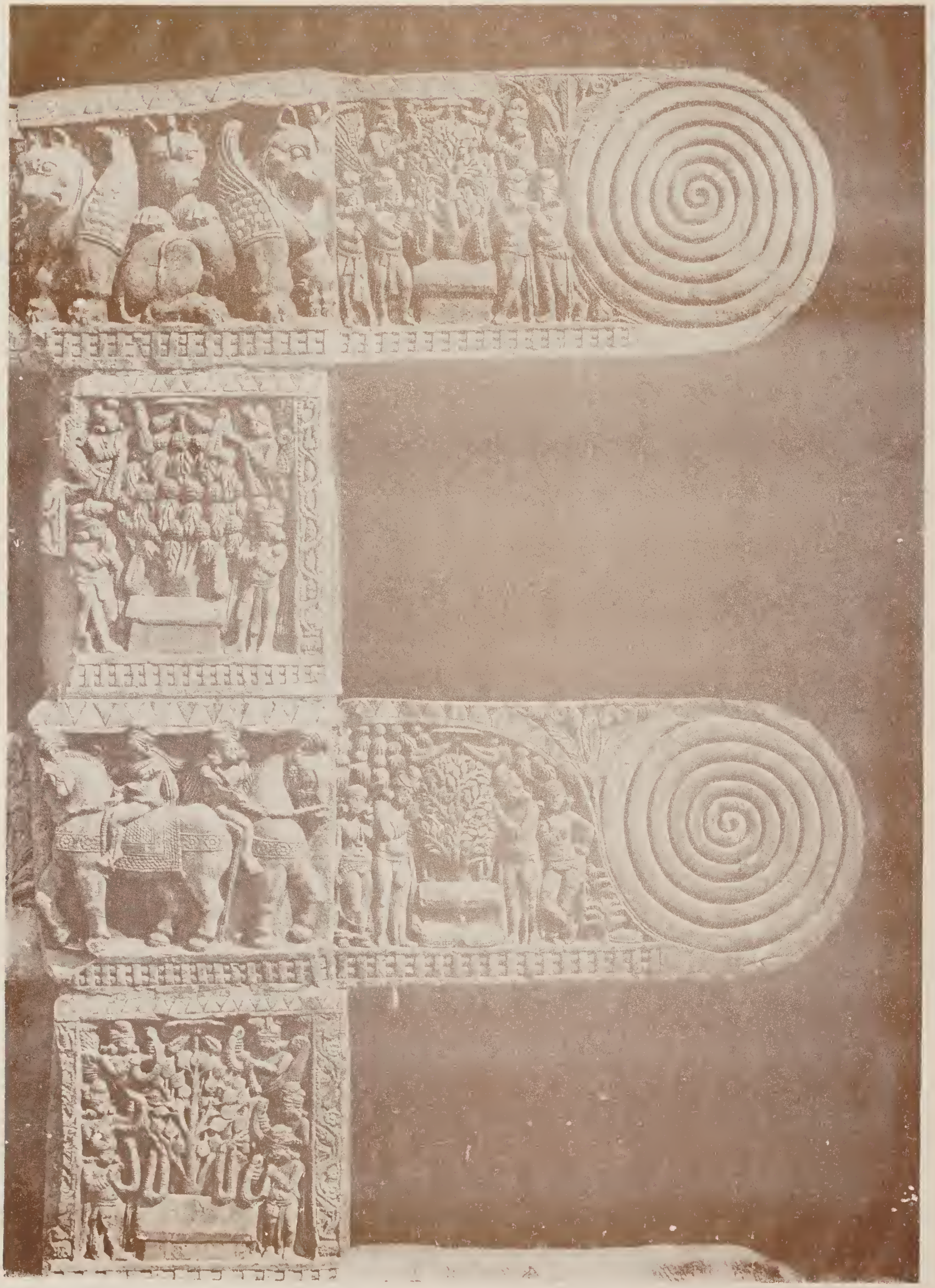
1. (*Back of*) *Bottom Lintel.*—On the other Gateways, whenever the scene represented on the middle section of the lintel does not extend to the projecting ends, we have been accustomed to find either some interesting decoration or a genre piece. On the Western Gateway we must learn to content ourselves with an extra religious image: a *Sambodhi* tree as on Pl. 56, 2, or, as here, a *Parinirvāṇa* tumulus (*cf.* Pls. 58 and 59). A curious detail is that the women, who on the other gateways always precede the men, are here placed behind (*cf.* Pl. 58). We knew that the designers of the Western Gateway were not conscientious; now we see that they were not polite either!

2. *Bottom False-Capital.*—These two elephants, lying down in their usual way and back to back, have already appeared on the false-capitals of the Southern Gateway (Pls. 16-17); their splendid harness may also be compared with that of the elephants on Pl. 42. The minute rendering of the pierced and embroidered trappings is especially interesting. The requirements of perspective have placed one of the servants partly above the other: the rope round the loins of the one in the foreground is clearly visible; this allows him, in spite of the realistic slope of the animal's spine, to keep both hands free to hold the handle of the umbrella.

3. *Capitals.*—The four atlas-dwarfs who have here supplanted the lions and elephants, were already familiar to the Bharhut workshop (Cunn., Pl. 15). Their little bandy legs, pot-bellies, huge heads and short arms dispose us to class them among the *kumbhāṇḍas* (*cf.* pp. 232 and 243). In any case there is no connection to be found here between them and the compass point at which their gateway stands: the *kumbhāṇḍas* preside over the South, and we should have expected *Nāgas* at the West. They wear the usual costume and jewels of genii, except that their *dhoṭīs* are very scanty and that they have no scarves. The ear-rings of the one on the left are curled round in spirals, like ear-rings of this period found at Taxila. For the sake of variety, it seems, the carver has given him a grim look and his neighbour a smile (*cf.* Pl. 59). See Part II, pp. 140 and 141.

b. Upright.—At a glance we see the similarity of the upright, which a lucky chance has preserved and which is here reproduced, to those of the Northern Gateway (Pls. 22, 23 and 29).

[illegible] OF WESTERN GATEWAY NORTH END OF LOWEST ARCHITRAVE WITH CAPITAL



FRONT OF WESTERN GATEWAY SOUTH END OF UPPER AND MIDDLE ARCHITRAVES

PLATE 58

FRONT OF WESTERN GATEWAY: SOUTH END

As this plate is almost the exact fellow of Pl. 56, we need only point out the few divergencies between them.

1. *Top Lintel.*—The *bodhi-druma* (one of the seven symbols of the front) seems to be the *udumbara* or *ficus glomerata* of Kanakamuni, the antepenultimate Buddha of our age. Whenever there are four worshipping noblemen, we are entitled to think of the Four Guardians of the World.

2. (*Back of*) *Middle Lintel.*—The same cliché again. And the tree is again the *nyagrodha* or *ficus indica* of Kāśyapa, the last Buddha but one (*cf.* Pl. 55, 1). Contrary to expectation, the women are placed behind their husbands (*cf.* Pl. 57, 1).—To the front, on the ground, are three trays laden with garlands (*cf.* Pl. 56, 3). At the top are two bignonias; at the bottom, on the right, a plantain.

3. *Top Die.*—The same cliché again and moreover the same *pāṭali* or *bignonia suaveolens* of Vipaśyin, the first of the seven last Buddhas (*cf.* Pl. 56, 2 and 3). The two worshippers must be a king (left of the spectator) and his viceroy.

4. *Bottom Die.*—Same cliché again. Once more we see, with its leaves accurately drawn, the *aśvattha* or *ficus religiosa* of Śākyamuni. The four attendants bearing garlands may again be the four Lokapālas.

5. *False-Capitals.*—We naturally find again at the top the same griffins and, in the middle, the same horses with riders as on Pl. 56. We must not take the thong hanging down the left leg of the rider in the foreground for the strap of a stirrup: it is only the ribbon of his girdle, like that which passed under his leg in Pl. 56, 6. The saddle-cloth conveys a clear impression of being padded.

PLATE 59

FRONT OF WESTERN GATEWAY: SOUTH END—concluded

a. We may refer the reader to the description of Pl. 57; for the differences of detail are insignificant. Even the little plantain decorating the left end of the lintel is repeated (double) on the right end. Only notice, on the torso of the atlas on the left, the same ornament made of little chains crossing breast and back between six medallions, which we pointed out on Pl. 27, 4, and on both of them the tassels at the ends of the girdle. (*Cf.* Part II, pp. 140-41.)

b. This single specimen of a detached figure is an exact reproduction of the griffins which we have already met on the top false-capitals (*cf.* Pls. 56 and 58).

a *b*

a. FRONT OF WESTERN GATEWAY: SOUTH END OF LOWER ARCHITRAVE WITH CAPITAL.

b. FIGURE FROM SOUTH END OF MIDDLE ARCHITRAVE.

BACK OF WESTERN GATEWAY

PLATE 60

BACK OF WESTERN GATEWAY (*present state*)

If we replace the procession on the front (which evidently does double duty with that on the middle lintel) by the traditional series of the Seven Mānushi-Buddhas, Pl. 60 will give us the original facade of the Western Gateway.

In its present state, its back exhibits simultaneously:—

Top Lintel: a processional transportation of relics;

Middle Lintel: a would-be "War of the Relics" also treated as a procession.

Bottom Lintel: a *Sambodhi* between two processions of opposite character and going in opposite directions.

This evident abuse of processions has allowed the sculptor to cover his lintels from one end to the other, except perhaps for the left projecting end of the middle one, which, by introducing an extraneous element, only serves to disconcert us.

The dies have replaced the Nativity and the three *Sambodhis* of the other side (Pl. 54) by a First Sermon and three *Parinirvāṇas*. By turning round two of these dies we should certainly obtain greater variety of subjects on both sides.

The false-capitals go back to the winged and sometimes horned lions of the Eastern Gateway (Pls. 41-44 and 47-48).

For the pedestal on the top, *cf.* Pl. 54.

PLATE 61

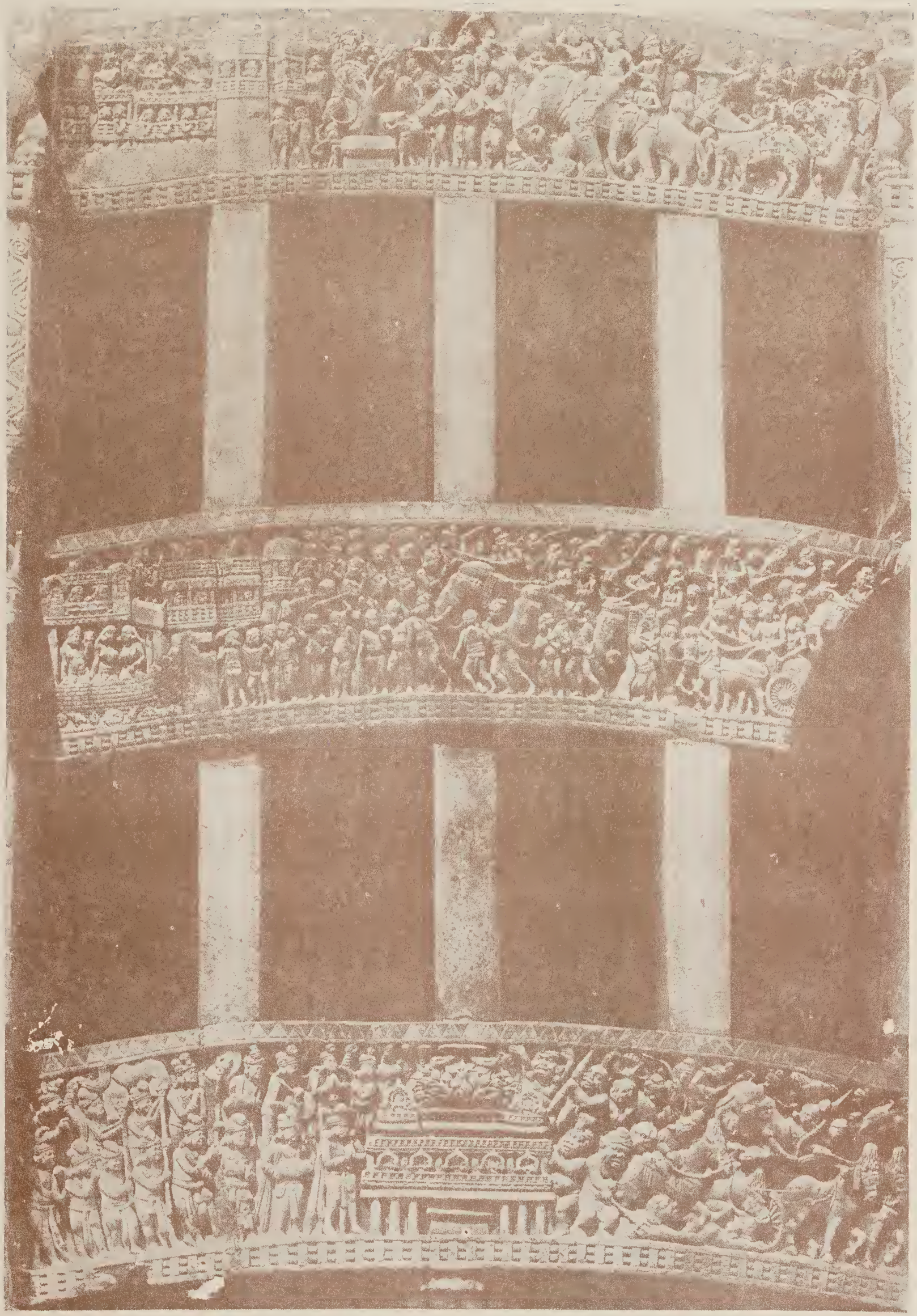
BACK OF WESTERN GATEWAY: MIDDLE SECTION

1. *Top Lintel.*—We availed ourselves (p. 215) of the data furnished by the *śāla* tree sheltering the Buddha's funeral couch, to recognize Kuśinagara in the "town" cliché at the left. The culminating point in the composition is the relic-casket which the principal personage, mounted on an elephant, is holding on his head with his right hand, while he carries the *aṅkuśa* in his left. His umbrella- and fly-whisk-bearers are both perched on the same beast, and he is followed by a man dressed in the same chlamys as the Mallas on Pl. 36*c*1. In front, march the band (a tambourine and two kettle-drums in the foreground, two conches and two flutes in the background), a soldier armed with spear and buckler, four standard-bearers, and some riders, three of whom have already got into the town, where we are privileged with a sight of them above the roofs (notice that this sculpture shows the houses filled with onlookers, on both sides of the highroad). Behind the king or chieftain come various great persons mounted on horses or elephants (for the foreshortening of the one on the right, *cf.* Pl. 55, 3, left). The procession continues, as we shall see, on the two projecting ends of the lintels, but there it consists of pedestrians only. (*Cf.* Part II, p. 127.)

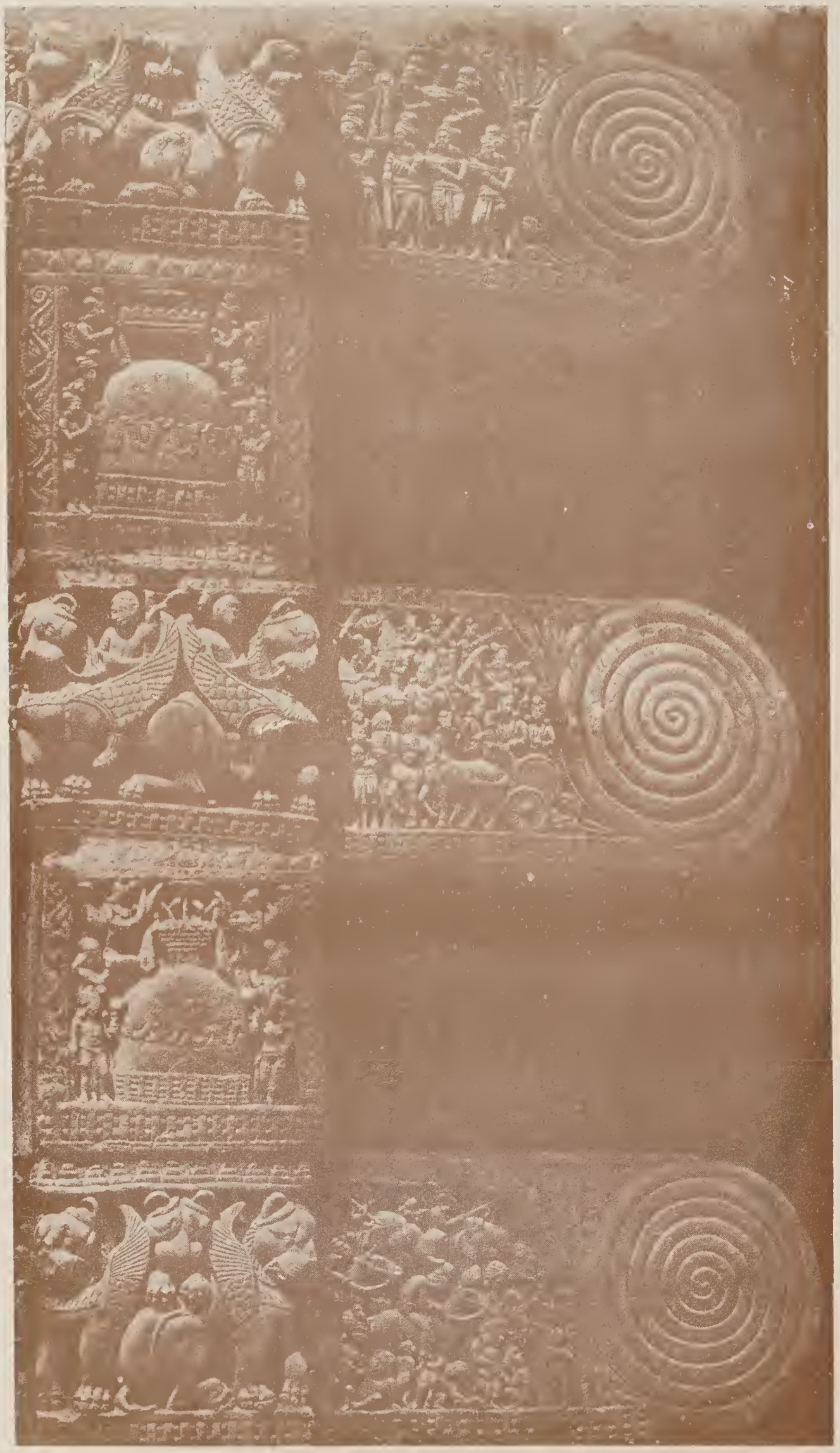
2. (*Front of*) *Middle Lintel.*—We refer the reader to pp. 214-215 for identification of this "War of the Relics", which lacks all indication of war or even of relics; for it is not a reliquary but a cup which the man shown half-length on the extreme left is holding. The seven umbrellas of the seven claimants before Kuśinagara are doubtless there to define the place and date of the scene; but there is virtually nothing else, and it is lucky that we have the conscientious composition of the Southern Gateway (Pl. 15, 3) to enable us to identify this imitation. The sculptor of the Western Gateway has reduced the legend to a mere procession preceded by the usual band, but comprising, first, three kings on elephants, then (in the foreground) a king in a chariot, above him two kings on horseback, and a seventh king bringing up the rear on his elephant (an accident has happened to the right-hand bottom corner of the plate and left out another figure on an elephant, but without an umbrella).[1] Of course each sovereign has his own servants bearing umbrella, fly-whisk, ewer or sword. Here and there will be noticed the outline of a shield (on the second soldier in front of the gate), the scabbard of a sword (near the middle), a spear-head (on the right, half way up), etc. All these people, we must confess, are progressing as one man towards the town: for we do not dispute the sculptor's artistic ability. Very effective is the attitude of the servant just in front of the third elephant's forequarters, who is lifting a heavy ewer on to his shoulder. (*Cf.* Part II, pp. 112-14 and 117-18.)

3. (*Front of*) *Bottom Lintel.*—The Great Miracle of the *Sambodhi* spun out into two antithetical processions. In the centre stands the *aśvattha* of Bodh-Gayā, above the *vajra-āsana* and inside its hypæthral temple (*cf.* Pls. 18, 40 and 51). On the right, Māra's vanquished army is fleeing; on the left, the gods (who, as the texts tell us, kept at a respectful distance from the fight) are coming to applaud the Master's victory; and though we must beware of supposing that we are here shown a battle between the forces of good and evil, since the Blessed One triumphed by the strength of his intelligence alone, the dualistic character of the picture is nevertheless striking. As usual, the demoniacal party is much more varied and picturesque than the divine; we can recognise the type of grotesque genii which we have already seen with Māra on the Northern Gateway (Pl. 29, 2) and here, too, on the capitals (Pls. 57 and 59; and *cf.* 65*b*, 1); among this diabolical rout the leaders still retain the appearance befitting *devas* of the sixth heaven (*cf.* Pl. 49*a*). Which of them is Māra? It is hard to guess, but he seems to be the figure armed with a bow, who turns round in his chariot whilst his charioteer is ordered to goad on the team: for Māra is simply another name for Kāma, and in India too the bow is the weapon of Love. The spirit of general panic is undeniably well rendered: among the *senāpati*, some are leaning over the heads of their elephants, others are being thrown by their horses, one of which is stumbling; as for the ordinary demons, letting four of them (two armed with bow and axe) cover their retreat, they are turning their backs and in their hurry to escape fall headlong on the ground. Notice the one in the foreground running his trident into the back of his companion; the flight continues on Pl. 62, 3. In contrast to this stampede, nothing could be more peaceful or solemn than the processional arrival of the gods. In accordance with custom, they are accompanied by a band comprising a kettle-drummer and three tambourine players, also apparently divine; some have simply their hands clasped, others are throwing flowers, bearing garlands, raising standards or waving their scarves—doing, in fact, everything suitable to such an occasion. But the moment we press the identification closer our perplexities begin again. Which is Brahmā?—The first one in the foreground at the head of the Gods of the Pure Abodes?—Which is Indra?—The last one on the left of the foreground (see his royal headdress), with his suite of Thirty-three Gods following him on the south end of the lintel (Pl. 63, 3)?—It would need an acute observer indeed to give a precise answer to these questions, with such elusive sculptors as these. (*Cf.* Part II, pp. 114-15.)

[1] For the missing details, see Pl. 60.



BACK OF WESTERN GATEWAY MIDDLE SECTION OF ARCHITRAVE



BACK OF WESTERN GATEWAY NORTH END OF ARCHITRAVE

PLATE 62

BACK OF WESTERN GATEWAY: NORTH END

1. *Top Lintel.*—End of the procession shown on the middle section. The figures, all on foot in two rows, are proceeding in good order towards the left. As usual on such occasions (see Pl. 61, 3), some are carrying wreathed standards, and others are throwing with their right hands flowers which they are taking out of the tray held in their left. Notice the wheel surmounting the staff of one of the standards.

2. (*Front of*) *Middle Lintel.*—Once more the end of a procession no less commonplace than the foregoing, though it is far more ably handled. Once again the cliché of the royal procession unfolds: king, royal insignia, chariot, suite—all are there. As it is only a chariot and pair and not a four-in-hand, we get a better view of the collars attaching the necks of the two horses to the yoke of the shaft (*cf.* Pl. 23, 1); notice also that several guards are carrying what look like clubs, but in fact are broad Indian swords, as the crossed thongs on the scabbards show. But who is this king? No one knows. Ought we to connect him with the scene on the middle section (Pl. 61, 2) and class him among the claimants? In that case he would be a surplus figure; for we have already counted seven. Is he, as we are inclined to think, merely a duplicate of the king in the chariot on Pl. 61, 2? Or is this an independent picture relating to another king and another occasion? Once more we must abandon any attempt to fathom the intentions of the sculptors, who seem to have had few beyond covering the spaces they had undertaken to decorate.

3. (*Front of*) *Bottom Lintel.*—Head of the rout of Māra's army (*cf.* Pl. 61, 3). The picture is conceived in exactly the same fashion as on the middle section. In the background, on account of the great height of their mounts, two fugitives on elephants; in the middle distance, two riders and some horses' heads; in the foreground, the demoniacal foot-soldiers, standing, squatting or fallen, so as to fill up the internal angle of the volute. As usual, none of the figures can be identified, but it is possible to note several interesting details, such as the padding of the saddle-cloths, the breadth of the spear-heads, the gourd from which one demon is refreshing his companion, etc.

3. *Dies.*—The two dies each bear a cliché of the *Parinirvāṇa*, the stūpa of which is being worshipped, on the top die, by four male figures, and on the bottom one by two couples.

4. *False-Capitals.*—Above and below, the triple winged lions and their arrangement are evidently imitated from the Eastern Gateway (Pls. 41-44). In the middle, some variety is introduced by the omission of the third animal and the introduction of two riders; the short hair, tunic and high boots of the one on the left marks him as a barbarian (*mleccha*) and the tuft of hair of the one on the right shows him to be a jungle-dweller (*cf.* Pl. 47, 5).

PLATE 63

BACK OF WESTERN GATEWAY: SOUTH END

1. *Top Lintel.*—Fragment of a procession whose only bond with the principal scene is that it, too, is on its way to Kuśinagara (*cf.* Pl. 61, 1), and whose only excuse for being there is to act as pendant to the one filling the other end of the lintel (*cf.* Pl. 62, 1). At the back, a bignonia and a mango-tree, in the foreground left, a plantain.

2. (*Front of*) *Middle Lintel.*—Here we are faced with the same perplexities as at the opposite end of the lintel (*cf.* Pl. 62, 2). Ought we to link this panel to the middle section? Must we seek another legend, and if so, which one? Or can we take it simply as a genre piece? As we cannot possibly decide, we must confine ourselves to noting down what we see. A king, as the style of his turban proves, is sitting in the park hard by his palace, in a sort of armchair with legs turned on the lathe (already seen at Bharhut: Cunn., Pl. 48, 2) and under it is his ewer; the women bearing the umbrella and fly-whisk are standing at their posts; his queen is seated in front of him on a rattan foot-stool covered with a quilt; with her left hand she is playing with the medallion on her necklace; with her right she is holding out a large cup, or rather standard bowl, into which a third attendant is pouring what appears to be the contents of a little round pot, while the king, leaning with his right arm over the side of the chair, holds a sort of ball in his left hand. Tempting as it is, it would probably be vain to look for an allusion in the urn and ball to the relics over which the seven claimants on the middle section of the lintel are squabbling; on the other hand, it would be no less difficult to admit that this is simply his majesty dining; for the use of the left hand to eat with would seem most surprising to any one familiar with oriental custom. The stereotyped scenery tells us nothing: the palace has of course its verandah and its balconies full of women, and the park has two plantains, a champaka and another tree, which we are unable to identify.

3. (*Front of*) *Bottom Lintel.*—These five persons are evidently the rear of the procession of gods in the middle section, since they are following them and are making the same gestures (*cf.* Pl. 61, 3); but they seem in no great hurry to leave this lovely spot shaded by a mango-tree, a bignonia and a fan-leaf palm, and cooled by a lotus pool in which *haṁsas* are swimming. The second from the right seems even to be loitering to gaze on this spectacle, as though the sculptor could not quite remember why he had put them all there.

4. *Dies.*—At the top, another cliché of the *Parinirvāṇa*, the third on this face of the Gateway (*cf.* Pl. 60).—At the bottom, a cliché of the First Sermon: the *dharmacakra* has no fewer than 38 spokes.

5. *False-Capitals.*—These naturally are the fellows of those on Pl. 62. The middle false-capital adds variety by giving stags' antlers to the lions (*cf.* Pls. 47-48). Here, only the diadems of the two jungle-dwellers are seen, as there was no room left for their topknots; their riding-whips are made of a short piece of rope fastened to a stick.

BACK OF WESTERN GATEWAY SOUTH END OF ARCHITRAVE S.

a

b

c

a SOUTH PILLAR OF WESTERN GATEWAY UPPER PANELS ON FRONT FACE.

b LOWER PANEL ON FRONT FACE

c NORTH PILLAR OF WESTERN GATEWAY UPPER PANELS ON FRONT FACE

PLATE 64

PILLARS OF WESTERN GATEWAY

a-b. Front Face of South Pillar.—Here the sculptors (or sculptor) have practised great eclecticism and borrowed subjects from all sides, without trying, as on the other three Gateways, to form cycles.

*a*1. *Mahākapi-jātaka.*—*Jātaka* no. 407 of the Pāli collection; not to be confused with no. 516. For identification and brief comparison with the Bharhut medallion (Cunn., Pl. 33, 4), *cf.* above, p. 224; for more detailed comparison, see *Mémoires concernant l'Asie Orientale*, III, Pl. II, 5 and 6. We may note: the strange perspective of the Ganges, flowing right towards us; the manner of indicating the water, and the shape of the fishes; the sword-bearer and bow-bearer in the foreground left; the equipment of musicians and servants, especially of the archer engaged in the quickly ended fight with the monkeys; and, lastly, the fact that, just as at Bharhut, the tree from which the big monkey is hanging by both hands is a *ficus indica* and that there is no mango-tree to be seen. What appears to be a pleated scarf hanging just under the hind-paws of the great ape, is in fact a waterfall dropping into the river from the top of a last spur of the Himālayas.

*a*2. *Adhyeshaṇa.*—In support of this identification, see above, p. 210, and note the earnest attitude of the gods—led apparently by Brahmā and Indra. But, as usual on the Western Gateway, the sculptor has been too lazy to characterize his figures. We may again notice the tongues of flame springing out of the rocky ground of the *Bodhimaṇḍa*: this must be understood as an outward manifestation of the *tejas*, not of the gods, but of the Buddha, still burning with the night's struggle which has led to his Enlightenment. A proof that the designer of the present panel was consciously imitating the *Adhyeshaṇa* of the Eastern Gateway (Pl. 49*c*) is that he has also set the tree between four flying genii, two of whom, astride of lions, are not elsewhere found face to face (only one specimen, isolated, exists on Pl. 36*c*3, and two female *devatās* on Pl. 65*a*2). He has not, however, made the mistake of showing an odd number of persons.

*a*3. *Indra's Visit.*—We have likewise given the reasons (p. 218) which, in spite of the carelessness and omissions of the sculptor, have made us vote in favour of this interpretation. The central tree, set between a bignonia and a mango-tree, is unknown to us; its presence —unexpected, to say the least—can only be explained by the mechanical routine of the sculptor, who could no longer imagine that a throne might be shown without a tree; but the rocky vault of the grotto goes right up to the top of the panel, though it is partly hidden by the crowning umbrella and the arms of the two winged spirits (it will be noticed that the garlands of flowers borne on trays by the latter are not indicated here by the usual check pattern). We shall not be surprised to find, as elsewhere on this Gateway, that the divine spectators are indistinguishable from one another.

b. This decorative motif is evidently closely akin to that on the outer side of the jambs (Pl. 66*b* and *c*), but at the same time influenced by the trios of lions on the false-capitals (Pls. 62-63). We can pick out its origins at Sāñchī itself on the medallions of the balustrade of Stūpa 2, where we find lions face to face (Pl. 74, no. 1*c*) and lions and other beasts rampant back to back (Pls. 82, no. 44*b*; 83, no. 49*a*; 86, no. 66*b*; 89, nos. 77*a* and 79*b*; *cf.* also Cunn., *Bharhut*, Pl. 37, 3. We need not consider panel 27*b* reproduced on Pl. 79, as it is obviously contemporary with the Western Gateway).

c. *Front Face of North Pillar.*—The fragments preserved suggest (p. 228) that the sculptor took his inspiration both from the tiers of heavens on the Eastern Gateway (Pl. 49*a* and *b*) and from the erotic representation of a paradise on the Northern Gateway (Pl. 34*b*2). It is clear that the bottom panel was conceived in the same spirit as the one at the top; we see or guess at the same couples, and the same trees, some rounded into arbours and others bearing scarves or jewels hanging from their branches and thus proclaiming their celestial character as "wishing trees".

*c*1. In the top picture we may notice the symmetry of the two arbours, whose leafy roof looks like the rather flattened dome of a *parṇaśālā* (*cf.* Pls. 25, 1; 27, 1; 29, 3; 52*a*2; 65*a*1). Four couples are sitting on low thrones or beds; like good Indians they appreciate their coolness, and when one day these seats grow hot, they will know that they must soon relapse into the vortex of rebirths. At the top left, the lover is helping his mistress with her toilet; she is holding in her left hand a handled mirror (already seen in Pl. 35*b*2); below, he is 'picking' bracelets and necklaces for her from the trees. On the right, the top couple are merely exchanging confidences, and those at the bottom are drinking. The couple standing are coming down the stairway which leads from the garden terrace to the edge of the lotus-pool (unless this is the bank of the river Mandākinī in Indra's heaven, *cf.* Pl. 96, 3) and the woman's gesture, half hiding her face behind her hand, would entitle her in an Italian painting to the nick-name of 'La Vergognosa'.

*c*2. We have not yet come across a harp; but here the male figure in the centre seems to be holding one under his left arm and his partner to be dancing, while the lover to their right is holding his beloved by the chin. Does this mean that we have now left the world of the gods and come down among the genii whose sportiveness is so freely depicted?

PLATE 65

PILLARS OF WESTERN GATEWAY—continued

a. Inner Face of North Pillar.—Only two panels and a half have been preserved; but F. C. Maisey has published a complete drawing of the third. The subjects bear witness to the same eclecticism as on Pl. 64.

*a*1. *The Syāma-jātaka* (*cf.* p. 225) brings in an element of novelty. The king on a hunting party has adopted the same equipment as the archer on Pl. 64*a*1; when he reappears for the third and forth times in the middle and at the top of the panel, he has put off his hunter's trappings, the better to show his repentance for his involuntary homicide. But we must not imagine that he is talking to the young ascetic, though they seem to have met face to face: the latter is supposed to have gone down to the pool without seeing him, and the king sees him only after the fatal accident. Śakra, the Indra of the Gods, has his characteristic tiara and bottle of *amṛita*, but has forgotten his thunderbolt. As above (Pl. 29, 3), two *parṇaśālās* are shown side by side, with the father and mother of Śyāma seated on the *bṛisī* at the doors of their respective dwellings; for the anchorites' bark garments and the band tied round the knees of the old father, compare Pl. 52*a*2. The trees are a plantain and a bignonia. In the shadow cast by the pillar's capital, on the right, above the space between the two huts (filled by utensils for sacrifice), monkeys are stealing the fruits laid out to dry on a mat.

*a*2. The episode of the Nāga-rāja Mucilinda (*cf.* p. 208) is evidently imitated from the Southern Gateway (Pl. 19c1) but treated with greater wealth of personages. The attitude of the Nāga-rāja is the same; his two queens are seated on his right hand and, behind, three attendants are holding a dish, a jar and a fly-whisk, respectively; on his left, his ballet troupe includes a dancing girl and five female musicians (two tambourines, a harp and a flute, the fifth instrument being invisible); as usual, the Nāgīs have only monocephalic hoods. This time, two female divinities are riding in the air on a winged lion and a winged griffin, besides the usual two *kinnaras* (*cf.* Pl. 64*a*2).

*a*3. Only the upper part of this panel is now preserved. The lower part was cut away when Col. Cole restored the gateway, but there is a drawing of the whole panel in Maisey's *Sánchi*, Pl. 21, fig. 2, and a description of it on pp. 58 and 59 of the same work. The waters of the river are represented by the usual wavy lines, interspersed with lotus leaves[1] and flowers. Across them, from left to right, passes a barge in the form of a winged griffin bearing on its back a pillared canopy or baldachino, in which is a small basket-like tabernacle covered with a cloth. To right and left of the tabernacle are two attendants, one holding the royal umbrella, the other a fly-whisk (*caurī*). The barge itself is propelled by an oarsman seated in the stern, behind the baldachino; and swimming in the waters alongside are half a dozen other figures, all decked out with jewellery and garlands. Three of them are supported on inflated skins and two on wooden planks, while the sixth with outstretched arms is seemingly trying to get on the barge. Col. Cole took the tabernacle for a throne of the Buddha and interpreted the relief as the miraculous crossing of the Ganges by the Buddha, when he left Rājagṛiha to visit Vaiśālī. A more probable explanation is that it represents the transport across a river of one of the Buddha's body-relics, to which royal honours are naturally being paid, though we might expect the covered tabernacle to be in the form of a stūpa, as it is, for example, in some Gandhāra reliefs (*L'Art Gréco-boudd. du Gandh.*, figs. 289, 290*b* and 291).

b. Inner Face of South Pillar.—The two subjects have been met with already. The first takes us to Uruvilvā (or Bodh-Gayā) and the second to Kapilavastu.

*b*1. The *Sambodhi* or Perfect Enlightenment of the Blessed One shown simply by his *aśvattha* (*ficus religiosa*) above a throne (not surrounded by the roofless temple as on Pls. 18*b*, 51*a* and 61, 3) would hardly be sufficient to fill all the panel, so the sculptor has had recourse to episodes connected with the Bodh-Gayā cycle, and we are left to disentangle the result of this contamination. It looks as if we should begin at the bottom, where we can recognize in the foreground, between three kindly gods, the throne of the 'six years of penance' (*cf.* p. 206) near the edge of the Nairañjanā, shaded by plantains, mango-trees and bignonias, and outside the precincts of the Bodhimaṇḍa. Inside the latter, we know that the persons grappling with the Buddha (in spite of the praying attitude which the sculptor has mechanically given to the principal figure and two of the women) can only be Māra, six of his wives (?), his three "daughters" and two of his "sons"; and finally, on the right, his army, here composed of a horse, a he-goat, a boar, a buffalo, a demon, an elephant and a lion of which only the forequarters and head are seen. In the top left-hand corner is a building, to remind us of the proximity of the village of Uruvilvā.

*b*2. This panel is directly imitated from the Northern Gateway (Pl. 35*a*2), and in both cases only one identification is possible—namely the "Conversion of the Śākyas" (*cf.* p. 205). Here, too, all the spectators are supposed to be sitting on the ground on cushions, even those whom the needs of perspective have lifted into the air, for we have only a human congregation, though of the most elegant kind. The tiny berries on the *ficus indica* are, here too, carefully depicted.

[1] What Maisey calls "a large shell" is only a lotus leaf, with its edges curved inwards, as one commonly sees such leaves in nature and as they are often represented in these and other reliefs.

a

NORTH PILLAR OF WESTERN GATEWAY.

UPPER PANELS ON SOUTH FACE.

b

SOUTH PILLAR OF WESTERN GATEWAY.

UPPER PANELS ON NORTH FACE.

a

b

c

a SOUTH PILLAR OF WESTERN GATEWAY
LOWEST PANELS ON NORTH FACE

b NORTH PILLAR OF WESTERN GATEWAY
NORTH FACE

c SOUTH PILLAR OF WESTERN GATEWAY
SOUTH FACE

PLATE 66

PILLARS OF WESTERN GATEWAY—concluded

a. Inner Face of South Pillar.—Bottom panel: only the south jamb has been preserved intact; so we possess only one of the two guardians of the Western Gateway. We should have expected a *nāga* at this quarter: but it is only another *Yakṣha*, though of a more than ordinarily belligerent appearance. He is holding his spear in his left hand and has hung his sword on a mango-tree behind him. We can study the detail of both weapons, even to the way the knotted thongs crossing over the broad scabbard of the sword are fastened by a pin with a *nandipada* head[1]; and then the head, the strap(?) on the top, and the socket at the bottom of the spear. We may notice also the comparative simplicity of turban, garments and jewels, befitting a warrior, even though he be a general (*senāpati*). The ear-rings which have been lost must have been of moderate size; an alternating pattern of bignonia (?) and blue lotus hangs from the broad necklace on the chest (see Part II, p. 133).

b and *c. Outer Faces of North and South Pillars.*—See Part II, p. 146. The basis of the design is the same lotus tree or creeper which is found on the other gateways and which Sir John Marshall interprets as a Tree of Life and Fortune (*Kalpa-druma* or *Kalpa-latā*), but here it is richer and more elaborate, and the human figures now appear as the riders or attendants of the fabulous animals, that stand rampant and back to back against the tree, the whole making a truly "Renaissance" design of great beauty and variety. Most of the lotus leaves are stylised in the manner peculiar to the Early School, but observe that some of them (near the middle of Pl. 66c) are treated naturally like the buds and flowers; and observe, too, that, besides the lotus blooms, this magic tree of fortune bears also vine leaves and bunches of grapes. The animals starting from the flowers and stem of the tree include griffins, unicorns and horned lions of diverse kinds.

[1] For a similar pin of the 1st century A.D. from Taxila, *cf. A. S. R.*, 1926, p. 113, No. 9 and Pl. XXVI, 11.

PLATE 67

MISCELLANEOUS SCULPTURES

The first three pieces on this Plate (*a*, *b* and c) come from the western pillar of the South Gateway. The fragment *d* is from the eastern pillar of the same Gateway, and *f* and *g* from the northern pillar of the West Gateway. The particular gateway from which *e* and *h* come, is not known.

a. Fragment (ht. 2′ 3½″) from the west pillar of the South Gateway of Stūpa I (Pls. 18 and 19). The carving of the front face has disappeared. On the inner face is the lower part of a guardian Yaksha, standing, armed with a broad Indian sword and wearing a close-fitting tunic and boots; traces of a sleeve of the tunic are visible on the left forearm. Below, remnants of a lion to left, and uncertain object to right. The outer side, not visible in the photo, is decorated with a flowing creeper (*kalpa-latā*), from which hang jewelled necklaces and fruit, while perched among the foliage are birds eating berries (*cf.* pp. 142-147). In the lower left corner, is the bust of a grotesque *kumbhāṇḍa*, grasping the stem of the *kalpa-latā* in his hand. For other guardian Yakshas, *cf.* pp. 133-134. *Mus. Cat.*, A12.

b. Fragment (ht. 1′ 10″) from the same pillar as above. The carvings on the front and inner faces have disappeared. The outer face exhibits part of the same *kalpa-latā* as the preceding, with pendent necklace and the figure of a monkey seated on one of the branches. *Mus. Cat.*, A14.

c. Fragment (ht. 1′ 1½″) from the same pillar as the above. The relief on the front face shows a headless female figure descending from a couch or chair to left, and the mutilated legs and tail of a horse to right. The lady wears a transparent *dhotī* and scarf, the end of which is held in her uplifted right hand. Behind the horse are what appear to be the legs of a standing human figure. Remains of a *kalpa-latā* with pendent necklace are visible on the outer face. *Mus. Cat.*, A13.

d. Fragment (ht. 12¼″) from the eastern pillar of the South Gateway (*cf.* Pl. 19). On the front face is the lower portion of a relief depicting a mutilated throne of the Buddha, and below it a water-pond with lotuses and ducks. On either side of the throne are small attendant figures, one of which is standing in an attitude of prayer. On the outer face are traces of a flowing *kalpa-latā*. *Mus. Cat.*, A17.

e. Head (ht. 10½″) probably belonging to one of the caurī-bearers on the top of the North Gateway, near which it was found. Observe the large ear-pendants and Indian turban, with a high excrescence in front and a smaller one over the skull behind. For these free-standing caurī-bearers, *cf.* p. 37 and Pls. 22 and 30. *Mus. Cat.*, A55.

f. Fragment in two pieces (ht. 2′ 11½″) from the northern pillar of the West Gateway (Pls. 64 and 65). On the inner face is the mutilated figure of a guardian Yaksha wearing the usual dress and ornaments and standing beside a bignonia tree. The carving on the front face has disappeared. *Mus. Cat.*, A20.

g. Fragment (ht. 1′ 7″) from the same pillar as the preceding one. On the outer face is the fore-front of a griffin facing left, and, above it, part of the same Tree of Life and Fortune that is seen in Pl. 66*b* (*cf.* pp. 142-147). *Mus. Cat.*, A19.

h. Torso (1′ 8¼″) of a caurī-bearer from one of the gateways of Stūpa 1. He wears an elaborate beaded necklace, armlet and *dhotī* fastened by a plain girdle tied in front. At the back are traces of a scarf. *Cf.* p. 37 and Pls. 22 and 30. *Mus. Cat.*, A53.

a

b

c

d

e

f

g

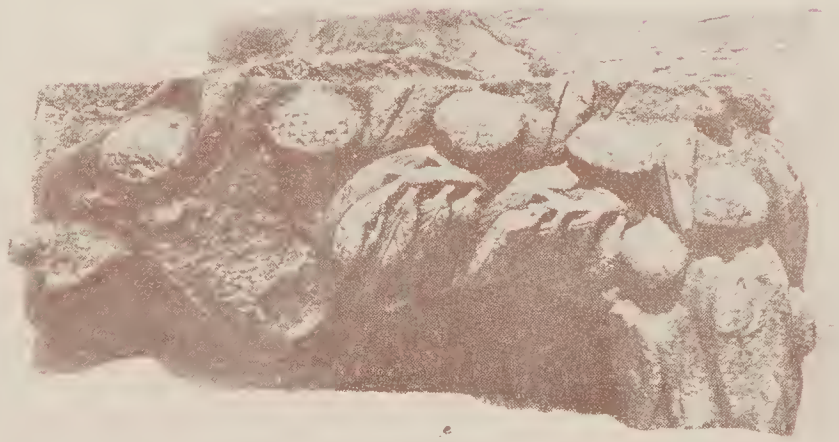
h

a

b

c

d



e

f

g

MISCELLANEOUS SCULPTURES

Pl LXVIII

PLATE 68

MISCELLANEOUS SCULPTURES

With the exception of the small bust c2, all the fragments in this Plate belong to the gateway brackets, like those described on pp. 129-132 and illustrated on Pls. 25, 27, 31, 33, 42, 44, 47 and 48.

a. Part of a bracket-arch in the form of a mango branch, similar the one illustrated on Pl. 44. Height, including tenon, 2′ 1″. Below the arch is the torso of a *śālabhañjikā* (ht. 2′ 9¼″), but it does not belong to the bracket above. The mango arch comes probably from the South Gateway and the torso from the south side of the East Gateway. The *śālabhañjikā* wears a transparent *dhotī*, plain hipband, beaded girdle and long necklace falling between the breasts. Hanging down her back are thick loops of hair and garlands resembling those on the bracket figure at the west end of the North Gateway (Pl. 31). For the modelling of this and the following figure, *cf*. remarks on pp. 129-30. *Mus. Cat*., A25 and 26.

b. The arched bracket above, which represents a bignonia tree, comes probably from the South, the figure below it (ht. 3′ 3½″) from the West Gateway. Observe that the latter is wearing two long chains with medallions hanging from the shoulders and crossing each other below the breasts, as well as at the back. The *dhotī*, hipband, girdle, hair and garlands are treated in the same way as on the previous figure. *Mus. Cat*., A28.

c. Another bracket arched in the form of a mango branch ht. 3′ 0½″), probably from the West Gateway of Stūpa I. In front of the foliage is the left forearm of a *śālabhañjikā*, wearing bangles and beaded wristlets.

The small bust below (ht. 7″) belongs to a double-faced figure of a *śālabhañjikā*, like that on the middle architrave of the North Gateway (*cf*. Pl. 26). She wears necklaces, heavy ear-pendants, and garlands over her head. *Mus. Cat*., A27 and B2.

d. Mango-tree bracket (ht. 1′ 0¾″) from between the architraves of one of the gateways. *Cf*. the small mango brackets in Pls. 26 and 27, and the bignonia brackets in Pls. 24 and 25. *Mus. Cat*., A42.

e. This is the back view of the bignonia bracket in Fig. *b*, but without the smaller broken piece at the bottom.

f. Fragment (ht. 7¾″) of a bignonia-tree bracket similar to that shown in Fig. *b*. *Mus. Cat*., A34.

g. Fragment (ht. 9¾″) from one of the smaller brackets between the projecting ends of the gateway architraves. The tree is the same as that depicted on Pl. 11, 2 (third from left end and second from right end) and Pl. 50a1 (third from right at bottom). Its species has not been identified. *Mus. Cat*., A45.

PLATE 69

MISCELLANEOUS SCULPTURES

a. Fragment from a shield (*śrīvatsa*) belonging to a *triratna* device, like that surmounting the North Gateway (Pl. 24).

b. Fragment (ht. 9½″) of a bull's head, from one of the false-capitals of a gateway.

c. Fragment (ht. 1′ 1½″) from one of the small balusters between the gateway architraves, *e.g.*, those on Pl. 22. On the front face is the capital of a pillar surmounted by four lions set back to back, supporting a wheel (*dharmacakra*). *Mus. Cat.*, A47.

d. Part of a mango tree (ht. 2′ 6″) from one of the larger brackets supporting the lowest architrave of the South Gateway. Perched among the foliage at the top is a parrot. *Mus. Cat.*, A24.

e. Elephant (ht. 1′ 6¾″) with rider and attendant, from between the architraves of one of the gateways, like the elephants illustrated on Pl. 23*a* On the back of the elephant is a plain *uttara-chada*. The master is sitting astride on the neck of the elephant, holding a goad (*aṅkuśa*). The servant crouching at the back holds in his hand the fasces-like staff of a flag ending in a *nandipada* device at the top. The elephant is carved in the round, but the riders have double bodies from the lions upwards, and are facing in both directions. Observe the unusual prominence of the elephant's skull. *Mus. Cat.* A48.

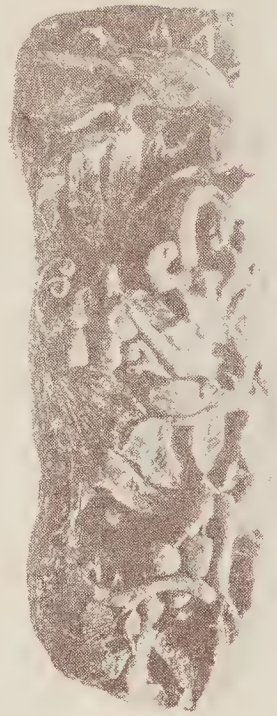
f. Figure in two pieces (ht. 1′ 11″) of a griffin from the projecting end of an architrave; most probably from the South Gateway. Observe the parrot-like beak, the curious scaly mane and the band of indented moulding round the mouth and base of the beak.

g, *h* and *i*. Statues of winged lions resembling those on the top architrave of the North Gateway (*cf.* Pls. 21, 24 and 26). Heights 2′ 1¾″, 1′ 11½″, and 2′ 2½″, respectively. *Mus. Cat.*, A37 and 38-41.

a

b

c



d

e

f

g

h

i

a NORTHERN

EASTERN

c SOUTHERN

d WESTERN

FOUR STATUES IN THE PRADAKSHINA-PATHWAY

PLATE 70

FOUR STATUES IN THE PRADAKSHIṆA-PATHA OF STŪPA 1

The four images pictured in this Plate are discussed on pp. 38-39 and 250-251. As there stated, they are referred to in an inscription of the year 450-51 A.D. (No. 834); and appear from their style to have been executed in the early years of that century (p. 39, n. 1). Possibly they were intended to represent the four Dhyāni Buddhas, which in mediæval times were commonly set up at the base of stūpas, facing the four cardinal points, *viz.*, Amoghasiddha at the north, Akshobhya at the east, Ratnasambhava at the south, and Amitābha at the west; but *cf.* p. 252. There is nothing in their individual attitudes or in their attributes to help us in determining their identity. The disparity in style and workmanship observable in these images is due, not to any difference in their respective ages, but to the varying ability of the sculptors.

The heights of the four slabs are: *a*, 6′ 2″; *b*, 5′ 4″; *c*, 3′ 10″; *d*, 5′ 7″.

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